The Experience of God in Everyday Life in Alexander Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica*

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ABSTRACT

Before examining the texts of *Carmina Gadelica*, the man who collected them, Alexander Carmichael, is considered. His life and social milieu inform an understanding of the collection. A Gaelic speaker, exciseman, folklorist, and avid advocate for the crofters with whom he lived and worked, Carmichael's motives for publishing *Carmina Gadelica* included a desire to portray the Highlander in a more positive light to a world which often saw stereotypes, rather than reality.

The long history of the publication of the five volumes of texts and a volume of indices also assists the reader in understanding the texts more fully. For example, the title caused some concern for Carmichael and his colleagues. This discussion shows a certain ambivalence about the nature of the contents of the collection. Related to this question is the definition of prayer, so a brief one is provided. In the twentieth century, *Carmina Gadelica* has been popularized by the publication of selections from its volumes. Some of these works are mentioned. Lastly, similar publications contemporary with *Carmina Gadelica* are noted.

In beginning to explore the experience of God in everyday life—immanence—in the texts themselves, definitions of immanence and transcendence are offered. The two are seen as complementary characteristics of God, not contradictory. Next, an investigation is made of the various arenas in which God is experienced in *Carmina Gadelica*: space, time, work and home activities. The marking and use of spatial and temporal liminalities is particularly significant in assisting the believer's experience of God's pervasive presence.

The parameters for this thesis are the English translations of the published *Carmina Gadelica* texts. The language, even in translation, informs the reader about the experience of God in the collection. For instance, many of the prayers do not address God directly. Other texts echo the early "breastplate" tradition by surrounding the believer with God's presence by using various spatial prepositions. Many anthropomorphic images of God are pointed out. Also, there is significant use of language from the Christian tradition—scriptural allusion, liturgical prayers—which illuminates the believer's experience of God. Lastly, the names for God in the collection exhibit the relation of the one who prays to his/her God.

Another important factor in the experience of God in *Carmina Gadelica* is the role of God's agents. The image emerges of the sovereign, Trinitarian God who orders creation benevolently. The believer can participate in God's ordering by relating to agents, properly observing spatial and temporal liminalities, and using God's gift of protective plants and prayers. Saints and angels act on a spectrum of agency: mere reference, presence, intermediary, co-agent with God, and almost independent from God's sovereignty. The agency of various individual saints and angels is considered. Human beings and nature can be agents of God's immanence as well. Human healers, and the elements of nature which are tools for God's protection and healing are explored.

It should not be claimed that *Carmina Gadelica* represents **all** of the streams which make up the diverse historical traditions of Celtic Christianity. The collection is, however, very helpful in understanding a picture of beliefs through the eyes of one prolific nineteenth century collector: Alexander Carmichael.

[90,500 words in body of thesis.]

DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

I, Laura S. Sugg, declare that this thesis has been composed by me, and it is the result of my own work and research.

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I am giving Thee reverence with my whole understanding,
I am giving Thee offering with my whole thought,
I am giving Thee praise with my whole fervour,
I am giving Thee humility in the blood of the Lamb.

I am giving Thee love with my whole devotion,
I am giving Thee kneeling with my whole desire,
I am giving Thee love with my whole heart,
I am giving Thee affection with my whole sense;
I am giving Thee existence with my whole mind,
I am giving Thee my soul, O God of all gods. . . .

May God shield me,
May God fill me,
May God keep me,
May God watch me.
(*Carmina Gadelica,* 228; III, 45-7)

CHAPTER ONE

ALEXANDER CARMICHAEL, HIS CIRCLE, AND NINETEENTH CENTURY CELTIC ROMANTICISM

• Alexander Carmichael •

> In the years to come, when Gaeldom as some of us have known it will have passed away, literary students will assuredly ask, What manner of man was this who preserved and interpreted so much of the ancient thought and character of his race?[1]

As the "literary student" of today asks this question, there are only glimpses of an answer. Alexander Carmichael seems to have been a kind, charming man with little advanced formal academic training who nevertheless associated with some of the "Scottish intelligentsia" of his time. He was a strong advocate for the Highland and Hebridean people in general, and the crofters in particular. His duties as an exciseman took him through the Hebrides (especially in Barra, Benbecula and South Uist), where he collected many of the texts in *Carmina Gadelica* (hereafter referred to as "CG").[2] Carmichael's writing seems to reflect some of the romanticism of his time, while at the same time giving a vivid account of the unjust poverty and hardship under which many of the crofters lived.

Alexander Carmichael was born on the first of December, 1832 in the island of Lismore.[3] Lismore was then, and continues to be, a small community. In 1831, 317 families lived there making a total population of 1,790.[4] By 1885, the population

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[1] Kenneth MacLeod, "Alexander Carmichael, L.L.D.: Our Interpreter," *The Celtic Review*, 8 (1912), 116.

[2] Alexander Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica*, Volumes I and II (Edinburgh: T. and A. Constable, 1900), second edition (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1928); Volume III, James Carmichael Watson, ed., (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1940); Volume IV, James Carmichael Watson, ed., (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1941); Volume V, Angus Matheson, ed., (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1954); Volume VI (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1971). Hereafter cited parenthetically within text by volume and page number. The 1928 edition of Volumes I and II is referred to unless otherwise noted.

[3] See Appendix 1.1 for a dateline of Alexander Carmichael's life and CG publication and Appendix 1.2 for a family tree.

[4] Ian Carmichael, *Lismore in Alba* (Perth: D. Leslie, 1947), p. 197.

had fallen to about 600, with only 150 houses being occupied.[5] Carmichael appears to have been baptized after infancy (sometime after 1836) because in his obituary in *The Celtic Review* Kenneth MacLeod says that, "the son of the minister who had baptized him conducted a simple Gaelic service . . . "[6] at St. Moluag's Churchyard in the Island of Lismore. This was John McNab MacGregor (born 1847) who served St. Moluag's from 1876 to 1881. John McNab's father was Gregor MacGregor (born 1797) and he served the parish of Lismore and Appin for nearly 50 years (1836 to 1885.) It was likely Gregor who baptized Alexander, and John McNab who buried him. Although the minister of St. Moluag's in 1912 (the time of Carmichael's death) was Lachlan MacKinnon, he had been serving there only one year at that time.[7] It is believable that the then 65-year-old John McNab MacGregor would be invited back to officiate at the burial service of a man whom his father had baptized, and with whom he had probably grown up in the church. St. Moluag's Church is currently a Church of Scotland congregation, and like many in Scotland, has a volatile history of the shifts within presbyterianism begun in the great Disruption in 1843. All the ministers in the Presbytery of Lorn except Gregor MacGregor and the minister of Kilmore left the "established church," leaving these two ministers to fill all the vacant charges in the presbytery.[8] Circumstances such as this undoubtedly shaped Carmichael's vision of the church and culture—but how and to what degree it is difficult to discern.

According to their wedding certificate, Alexander Carmichael married Mary Frances Urquhart Macbean of Burntisland, Fife on 13 January, 1868 in a private home on Wardie Avenue in Edinburgh. Although not in a church, the wedding was celebrated by the Reverend Thomas MacLauchlan, "After Banns according to the Forms of the Free Church of Scotland." Michael A. Carmichael (Alexander's grandson), wrote to me in January, 1992. In answer to my question about Alexander Carmichael's religious practices, Michael writes:

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[5] I. Carmichael, p. 166.

[6] MacLeod, p. 115.

[7] I. Carmichael, pp. 195-6.

[8] I. Carmichael, p. 167.

> I am sure that Alexander Carmichael was never an elder in any church. I quote from a letter from my father to my mother just after Alexander died. "He was not at all a religious man in the ordinary sense of the term, and I never heard him talk religion, and he hardly ever went to church, but for all that he was the most really religious man I have ever seen, and the most really pious."

Carmichael's father, Hugh, is listed as a farmer in Alexander's marriage certificate. His mother's name was Elizabeth, and both Alexander's and Mary's parents were deceased by the time of their wedding. Carmichael had one sister and no brothers, but no close relatives are still living in Lismore as Michael Carmichael discovered on a 1937 visit there with his cousin, James Carmichael Watson. Michael writes of Alexander's family:

> I quote from a letter from the minister in Lismore in 1941. "His father lived at Cruit an Loehan, beside the manse, and I think he had an inn. They called him EOGHANN GREUSAICH." His sister married Duncan Carmichael who farmed at Killandrist, Lismore. (Maybe Eoghann's father was a shoemaker.)

In his obituary by Kenneth MacLeod, and then in many succeeding articles, Alexander Carmichael's formal education is listed as being at the Lismore parish school, the Greenock Academy, and "a collegiate school in Edinburgh."[9] In attempting to get specific information about his education, it has become clear that he could not have been a student at what is now called Greenock Academy. It was officially opened in 1855, when Carmichael would have been too old to be a student. He may have been a student at the Grammar School or The Mathematical School, both of which were incorporated into the Academy. There are, unfortunately, no records of these schools in the Greenock library, so it will be difficult to establish exactly where and when Carmichael attended. It is also unclear to which institution in Edinburgh MacLeod is referring. In checking the roll books of several schools in Edinburgh, no reference to an Alexander A. Carmichael could be found.

Carmichael had apparently initially hoped to enter the army, but his father's early death forced him to secure employment expeditiously. So, his education satisfied the Civil Service Commissioners, and he became an exciseman. It is this work which was to take him to: Greenock, Dublin, Islay, Cornwall, Skye, Uist,

[9] MacLeod, p. 113.

Oban, Uist again, and then to Edinburgh.[10] Given the Biblical and cultural view of tax-collectors, it seems an indication of his charm, personal charisma, and kindness that he was able to collect so many personal prayers from people with whom he probably also had official dealings. Apparently, he sometimes paid the excise dues, and gave other aid to many poor crofters and cottars from his small financial resources.[11] (Could this have influenced their willingness/obligation to tell him a prayer?) A fellow exciseman and advocate for crofter's rights, John Murdoch writes of Carmichael:

> With Mr. and Mrs. Carmichael I had the best of entertainment, physically and mentally. He was full of Gaelic lore and busy gathering more. For this work, indeed, he had gone there and remained—to the loss of promotion in the excise in which he was much esteemed. He had been in Dublin, where I first met him on his arrival. . . . His first station was in Cornwall where he found much to interest him. But he came to the Long Island as the great repository of Celtic traditional lore and he worked the mine as no man ever did before. Not only that but he made friends wherever he went. And unconsciously I reaped a good deal of the result. Wearing the kilt, as we both did, I was many a time taken for him as I approached; and I found that the good impression thus made often stood to me after the discovery was made that I was quite another person.[12]

It is interesting to note that the kilt was rarely worn in the Highlands during Carmichael's time, and so was distinctive. In fact, the several photographs of Carmichael taken in Edinburgh which are part of the Carmichael-Watson Collection in the University Library all show Carmichael in a kilt. Perhaps he saw it as a way of being a visible advocate for the Highlander and Gaelic-speaker. The kilt and stockings may have also been practical for him as he travelled. Carmichael describes a stop at a croft after walking a long distance, the woman of the house says:

> 'Food will be ready presently, and in the meantime you will bathe your feet and dry your stockings, which are wet after coming through the marshes of the moorland.' Then the woman went down upon her knees, and washed and dried the feet of the stranger as gently and tenderly as a mother would those of her child. . . . One of the girls had already washed out my stockings and they were presently drying before the bright fire in the middle of the floor. (I, xxviii)

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[10] MacLeod, pp. 112-113.

[11] MacLeod, p. 117.

[12] James Hunter, *For the People's Cause: From the Writings of John Murdoch* (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1986), p. 150.

Carmichael continued to be well-liked after moving to Edinburgh in the early 1880's. There he and his wife created a home where visitors were welcomed with the same hospitality which Carmichael had experienced in the Outer Islands (III, xxii).[13] He was Honorary President of the Celtic Societies of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and St. Andrew's Universities. When the University of Edinburgh bestowed the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws upon him in 1909,[14] the Highland students at Edinburgh bought a full set of academic regalia for Alexander Carmichael, and a silver tea service for Mrs. Carmichael.[15]

It was while living in Edinburgh (1882 to 1912) that Carmichael began to sort through, edit and translate some of the lore, hymns,and prayers he had collected over forty-odd years. Carmichael retired from the Inland Revenue in 1897, and he and his wife were granted a Civil List Pension in 1905 (IV, xxiv). During the years of his most active collecting (1850's to 1890's) he became associated with several learned men with whom he exchanged information. These men included Alexander Nicolson, Dr. William Forbes Skene (I, xxvii), Iain F. Campbell, and Carmichael's good friend, Dr. George Henderson (I, xxxvi). Through these men and other connections, Carmichael contributed many articles and miscellaneous information to journals (like *The Celtic Review*, and John Murdoch's paper *The Highlander*) and books, regarding Celtic antiquities, folklore, conditions of crofters, etc. One gets the feeling that there was a collegial network in which there was a fairly free exchange of ideas and information. Carmichael's circle of Gaelic intelligentsia is discussed in depth below.

There are expressions of what might be seen as nineteenth century romanticism in Carmichael's introduction to Volume I of CG. In describing the Hebrides or "The Long Island," he says they are evidently the backbone of a "large island, perhaps of a great continent, that extended westward beyond the Isle of the Nuns . . . probably beyond the storied Isle of Rocabarraidh, and possibly beyond the

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[13] MacLeod, p. 117.

[14] Ludovic Grant, "Alexander Carmichael, F.S.A.," *Edinburgh University Laureation Addresses*, Vol. 2 (1894-1910), p. 296.

[15] MacLeod, p. 115.

historic Isle of Atlantis." (I, xix) Carmichael does not, however, use romantic language to the extent that Kenneth MacLeod does in writing Carmichael's obituary. He sees him as a knight true to a cause, or "in temperament and in activity, as one of the Iona brethren re-born in the nineteenth century."[16]

There is a positive side to the nineteenth century understanding of scholarship which Carmichael seems to reflect, and that is a passionate love for what you are studying. MacLeod says:

> Thus we never thought of him as one merely collecting and dissecting our beliefs in the more or less sacred name of science; we thought of him rather as one who saw with our eyes, who felt with our heart, and who reproduced our past because he loved it himself and was proud of it.[17]

I will explore Carmichael's scholarly methods below, but in this biographical sketch it is important to place Carmichael in the scholastic context in which he worked—a community where he was revered for his desire to save, preserve and interpret this dying culture which he loved. "The glow of sympathy which made Dr. Carmichael great as a collector made him still greater as an interpreter of the material collected."[18] Thus, if his self-perception in any way resembled how he is described by MacLeod, then he was not merely to be an accurate scribe, but one called to translate linguistically and conceptually this fading culture to the larger society.

His sympathetic side does not keep him from seeing and reporting the harsh reality of the poverty of the crofters, and of the negative aspects of the religious zeal which contributed to the decline of the oral, musical, and recreational Gaelic or Highland tradition. Carmichael contributed a chapter in William F. Skene's *Celtic Scotland*[19] and two papers in *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the Condition of the Crofters and Cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland*[20]

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[16] MacLeod, p. 122.

[17] MacLeod, p. 118.

[18] MacLeod, p. 120.

[19] William F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1890), III, 378-393.

[20] "Statement by Mr. Alexander Carmichael as to Farming Customs in the Outer Hebrides" and "Grazing and Agrestic Customs of the Outer Hebrides." *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the Condition of the Crofters and Cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Neill and Co., 1884), Appendix A, Section XLVIII, pp. 213-16, and Section XCIX, pp. 415-82.

The passing of the Crofters Act began a long, gradual process of legal reform to bring more justice to the lives of the crofters.[21] At the outset of the introduction to CG he describes the political situation quite clearly:

> The population of the Long Island is about forty-four thousand. Of these, about forty-four families occupy two-thirds of the whole land, the crofters, cottars, and the poor who exist upon the poor, being confined to the remaining third. These are crowded upon one another like sheep in a pen. . . . There are no intermediate farms, no gradation holdings, to which the industrious crofter might aspire, and become a benefit to himself, an example to his neighbor, and a lever to his country. (I, xxi)

Carmichael consistently describes the people of the Outer Isles and Highlands and Islands as genteel, dignified, civil and courteous. (I, xxiv-v, etc.) Carmichael's pride in the beauty of Gaelic oral literature is probably equaled by his sorrow and perhaps anger at its passing. He articulates his understanding of the reasons for this decline vividly in the CG introduction. In strong language, he tells briefly why the Reformation, the rebellions, the evictions, the Disruption, the schools, and "the spirit of the age" contributed to the decay of Gaelic oral literature over the three centuries before 1900.

> Converts in religion . . . are apt to be intemperate in speech and rash in action. The Reformation movement condemned the beliefs and cults tolerated and assimilated by the Celtic Church and the Latin Church. . . . Ignorant school-teaching and clerical narrowness have been painfully detrimental to the expressive language, wholesome literature, manly sports, and interesting amusements of the Highland people. (I, xxv)

It is clear that Carmichael grieved at what he saw as the passing of this culture from its full flower. This is probably one reason he was so diligent and untiring in his efforts to gather these poems/prayers over forty-four years.

Carmichael had a special place in his heart for his daughter, Elizabeth Catherine Carmichael, who went on to marry William J. Watson, the Celtic scholar. She was a Celtic scholar herself, editing the *Celtic Review* for many years. "Ella" was helpful to her father as he compiled the first two volumes (she was about 28

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[21] MacLeod, p. 114. Derick S. Thomson, ed., *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983), pp. 49-51. See A. C. Cameron, *Go Listen to the Crofters: The Napier Commission and Crofting a Century Ago* (Stornoway: Acair, 1986).

years old in 1900):

> My daughter has transcribed the manuscripts and corrected the proofs for press, and has acted as amanuensis throughout; while my three sons have helped in various ways. (I, xxxv)

She was instrumental in the publication of the second edition of Volumes I and II in 1928, the year in which she died. No doubt her work inspired her son, James Carmichael Watson to edit and publish Volumes III and IV (he dedicates Volume III to her.)

Mary Carmichael contributed the beautiful ornamental letters which begin the Gaelic texts in Volumes I and II (and her work was probably used in Volumes III and IV as well.) She apparently drew the letters free hand, based upon illuminated manuscripts, especially those in the Advocates' Library. Carmichael says, "This has been a task of extreme difficulty, needing great skill and patient care owing to the defaced condition of the originals." (I, xxxv)

Carmichael died in his home in Edinburgh on June 6, 1912. The body was conveyed from Edinburgh to Oban by train, and then to his birthplace, the Island of Lismore. The funeral was conducted by not only the Rev. John MacGregor as mentioned before, but also the minister of United Free Church, Lismore, the Rev. A. McBean. Included in the many friends who attended the funeral (or who at least accompanied the body on part of its journey to Lismore), there were at least four ministers (in addition to MacGregor and McBean): the Rev. Malcolm Maclennan, St. Columba U.F. Church, Edinburgh; the Rev. C.D. MacIntosh, Connel; the Rev. D.J. Martin, Argyll Square U.F. Church (probably Oban); the Rev. S. McCune, Oban Free Church.[22] One might deduce from the clergy listed as attending his funeral that if Carmichael had a close affiliation with any denomination, it would be to the United Free Church. Their presence at his funeral shows that his negative feelings about the institutional Church did not prevent him from developing relationships with quite a number of clergy.

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[22] Kenneth MacLeod, "The Late Mr. Alexander Carmichael, LL.D.," *The Oban Times*, 15 June, 1912, p. 5, col. 4.

The coffin, covered in Carmichael tartan, was carried by relays of mourners along George Street in Oban to the North Pier for the boat to Lismore. Michael Carmichael says that the tartan used on the coffin was the fabric from Alexander's two kilts, which his wife, Mary, and his daughter-in-law, Laura, unpicked for use as a pall.[23] The funeral service included a Gaelic Psalm sung to "Coleshill," and a "finely intoned prayer in the same language . . . " by the minister of Kilmore.[24]

The gravestone for Carmichael was designed by his son, Eoghan (Michael Carmichael's father) who was a skilled draftsman. It is approximately five feet high, and has two Gaelic inscriptions, one above and one below a Celtic cross.They read:

M'ANAM•A'BHI•AN•SITH•
AIG•SORCHAIR•NA•FRITHE•
MICHEIL•CRODHAL•∞∞
AN•COMHDAIL•M'ANAMA:

CHUM•CLUI•DHE
AGUS•AIR•CUIMH
NE-AN•OLLAMH•ALAS
DAIR•MACGILLEMHI
CHEIL: LISMORE•1833
DUNEIDEANN•1912
ALEXANDER•CAR
MICHAEL•LLD:

The first passage is a quote from "Sleep Blessing": "Be my soul in peace with thee, Brightness of the mountains. / Valiant Michael, meet thou my soul. . . ." (26; I, 67) There is only one, small difference in the Gaelic. In the CG text, "codhail" is used for "meeting" (translated as the imperative "meet") and on the stone, "comhdail" is used. The second passage translates as: "To the honor of God / and to the memory / of the Doctor Alas / dair MacGillemhi / cheil: Lismore 1833 [sic., Carmichael was born in 1832] Edinburgh 1912 Alexander Carmichael."

Eoghan Carmichael had a grander, more elaborate design for carved cross-shaped stone using a different quote. In the full-size drawing for the proposed cross which Michael Carmichael possesses, the Gaelic inscription to Carmichael comes

[23] Letter to author dated 31 May, 1996.

[24] MacLeod, *Times*, p. 5.

first, but lacks the dedication "To the honor of God and to the memory of. . . ." The other passage is a direct quote from "Hymn of the Procession" used on St. Michael's day in circuiting the burial ground. This would have been a logical choice for an epitaph. The CG English translation reads: "Valiant Michael of the white steeds, / Who subdued the dragon of blood, / For the love of God, for pains of Mary's Son, Spread thy wing over us, shield us all. . . ." (75; I, 193) For some reason (lack of funds?), a smaller rectangular stone with a simpler carved cross was used.

There is surprisingly little hard biographical information readily available about Alexander Carmichael. It appears that what was most important to Carmichael, and to his family, was the beauty of the Gaelic oral literature. Carmichael did not seek attention for himself, it was attention for the crofters and the culture which he sought. Unfortunately, this leaves us with little concrete information to answer the question, "What manner of man was this . . . ?" One thing is certain, when Alexander Carmichael died a few days before St. Columba's Day, 1912, the world lost a man who was knowledgeable, well-loved, and who contributed a great deal to the people and culture which he loved so dearly.

• Carmichael's Circle •

Alexander Carmichael was a man of his time: affected by his background, his friends, and his social, scholarly and historical milieu. CG cannot be thoughtfully considered without recognizing this. Every collector of folklore does so in a context, and it is helpful to look at ways in which that context might have influenced the collector, the sources, and the collection itself. In the following pages, I will give some biographical material about several of the members of the Gaelic intelligentsia circle of which Carmichael was a part. Then I will discuss some reasons why two Gaelic scholars of that time were not considered members of this group. I will suggest some characteristics of nineteenth century "Celtic romanticism," and consider ways in which Carmichael and members of his scholarly circle exhibit this perspective. Lastly, I will briefly mention how CG might be approached in light of this information.

By the time Carmichael moved to Edinburgh in 1882, he had developed collegial friendships with a group of men, some of whom lived in Edinburgh, and who comprised a good portion of the late nineteenth century's Scottish Gaelic intelligentsia. The order in which eight of these men will be discussed is fairly arbitrary—in order of date of birth. After brief sketches of their lives taken in great part from Derick Thomson's *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland*, I will describe some of the things they had in common.

William Forbes Skene (1809-1892) was born in Knoydart. He worked as a lawyer in Edinburgh, was Secretary of the Relief Committee after the Potato Blight, and was "Historiographer Royal" 1881-92. His three volume *Celtic Scotland* came out between 1886 and 1890, and to which, Alexander Carmichael contributed an article. Alexander Macbain (see below) edited Skene's *The Highlanders of Scotland* which was published in 1902.[25]

John Stuart Blackie (1809-1895), born in Glasgow, was Professor of Greek at Edinburgh University. In 1874, he became Convener of a University committee to consider establishing a Celtic Chair. Blackie personally toured the country to solicit funds for the endowment. "By April, 1882 he raised enough money to make the new Chair of Celtic one of the best endowed positions at Edinburgh University."[26]

John Murdoch (1818-1903), born in Ardlach (then a Gaelic-speaking area, bordering Moray Firth) but his family moved to Atholl, then Islay where he called home. In the 1830's in Islay, the young Murdoch met Archibald Sinclair, "later a publisher in Glasgow and, like Murdoch, a Gaelic revivalist, temperance campaigner and land reformer . . ." and John Francis Campbell "whose father, Walter Frederick, then owned all of Islay."[27] Murdoch's father was a gamekeeper for Campbell senior. Murdoch spent a career as an exciseman, while also working for the crofters' cause, and editing *The Highlander* from 1873 to 1881.[28]

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[25] Thomson, p. 268.

[26] Sheets, John. "Prospectus: Professor Donald Mackinnon from Colonsay, An Early Ethnic Scholar," unpublished, 1991. pp. 4-5.

[27] Hunter, p. 13.

[28] Hunter, pp. 27 and 35.

Alexander Nicolson (1827-93) was from Skye. He served as a sheriff, and made a name writing in both English and Gaelic. He was a member of the Argyll Education Commission, and on the Napier Commission on the Condition of the Crofters (to which Carmichael contributed a significant article.) Nicolson also served on the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SPCK) committee to revise the Gaelic Bible[29] (see also Mackinnon, below.) Sheriff Nicolson added to Macintosh's collection of Gaelic proverbs (first published in 1785) and published *Gaelic Proverbs and Familiar Phrases* in 1881. This work is an extremely valuable source for the study of eighteenth and nineteenth century folk tradition. In it, he thanks Carmichael for contributing material.[30]

Dòmhall MacEacharn (Donald MacKechnie, 1836-1908) was born in Jura. The *Companion* says he, "lived latterly in Edinburgh as part of the distinguished circle which included Donald Mackinnon, Alexander Carmichael, and Sheriff Nicolson. A frequent prizewinner at Mods at the turn of the century."[31] He wrote some Gaelic poetry, and translated from the *Rubaiyat* .

> His prose has worn better [than his poetry], his essays on various animals in particular illustrating his light, humourous touch, his use of incisive and idiomatic language and unpretentious style; 'Am Fiadh' (The Deer) is the best known of these.[32]

Donald Mackinnon (1839-1914) was born in Colonsay, and is perhaps best known as the first holder of the Chair of Celtic and the University of Edinburgh. He served as Professor for 32 years (1882-1914.) While a student at Edinburgh University (1863~1870), Mackinnon studied under Prof. Blackie. He received an M.A. with First Class Honours in Mental Philosophy.[33] Mackinnon served as the first Clerk and Treasurer of the Edinburgh School Board, and, like Nicolson, was on both the SPCK committee to revise the Gaelic Bible, and the Napier Crofting Commission. One of his most significant scholarly works is *A Descriptive Catalogue of Gaelic*

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[29] Thomson, p. 214.

[30] Alexander Nicolson, ed., *(A Collection of) Gaelic Proverbs (and Familiar Phrases)* (Edinburgh: Maclachlan and Stewart, 1881), pp. xxxii-iii.

[31] Thomson, p. 170.

[32] Thomson, p. 170.

[33] Sheets, p. 3.

Manuscripts which was published in 1912. He wrote numerous essays/articles for *The Gael*, and other publications, including several on Gaelic proverbs. He co-founded and was consultant editor of the *Celtic Review* . He retired as Professor of Celtic in 1914 at the age of 75, only to die six months later in Colonsay where he and his family spent much of their time. William J. Watson, Carmichael's son-in-law and Mackinnon's colleague and friend, succeeded him as the new Chair.[34]

Father Allan McDonald (1859-1905) was born in Fort William, served as parish priest in Daliburgh, South Uist from 1884-94, and in Eriskay from 1894-1905. Father Allan began collecting folklore in 1887, and corresponded frequently with Carmichael (and other folklorists) concerning collected material, and editing procedures. Although perhaps not one of the close circle of Edinburgh intelligentsia, Father Allan's assistance was very important to Carmichael. McDonald was involved in the investigation of Second Sight by the Society for Psychical Research, published hymns in 1889, and 1893, and in 1965 his Gaelic poems were published.[35]

George Henderson (1866-1912) was born in Kiltarlity. He and Father Allan were somewhat younger than Carmichael (b.1832) and the rest of the circle, but he and Carmichael developed a close collegial friendship. It seems that Carmichael and his wife had hoped that Henderson would marry their daughter, Ella, but instead she ended up marrying William J. Watson, the man who succeeded Mackinnon in the Chair of Celtic.[36] Henderson perhaps had the best formal education of the group: Edinburgh, Oxford, Berlin, and Vienna. He served as Lecturer in Celtic at the University of Glasgow from 1906-12.[37] His writings include *Leabhar nan Gleann* (1898), and *Survivals of Beliefs Among the Celts* (1911). Some of his correspondence with Carmichael can be found in the Henderson Collection at the University of Glasgow, and in the Carmichael-Watson (C-W) Collection at Edinburgh University's Main Library Special Collections. I compiled a "Summary List" describing the contents of over one hundred items in the C-W Collection which were

[34] Sheets, pp. 1-2, 6; and Thomson, p. 178.

[35] Thomson, p. 165.

[36] John Lorne Campbell and T. H. Hall, *Strange Things* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968), p. 15.

[37] Thomson, p. 119.

not catalogued by MacKechnie. This "Summary List" is set to be published in the 1997 volume of *Scottish Gaelic Studies* (Professor Donald Meek, editor.)[38]

Henderson died only a few weeks after Carmichael, in June 1912 at the young age of 47. His obituary states that: "He succombed to an affection of the heart."[39]

At the time that Carmichael was living in Edinburgh (1882-1912) the Gaelic services at St. Oran's Church attracted some members of his circle. A brief history of the congregation: St. Oran's was a Church of Scotland congregation and began as the "Gaelic Chapel-of-Ease" in 1768, which was in turn united with the "Gaelic and English Chapel" in 1815. St. Oran's was declared a parish quoad sacra by Act of Assembly 31 May 1834, and erected by the Court of Teinds 27 Nov. 1850.

> The original chapel, of which no trace remains, was built in the Castle Wynd in 1789. In 1815 a chapel in Horse Wynd belonging to the Gaelic and English Congregation was acquired, and occupied until 1877, when the church in Broughton Street was purchased from the Catholic Apostolic congregation.[40]

St. Oran's was united with St. Columba's on 4 July 1948 by decision of General Assembly. After several other mergers, it is presently "located" at Greyfriars Church. (It appears that over the past 250 years, around seven congregations in Edinburgh with Gaelic services have been consolidated into one at Greyfriars.) If Carmichael and others attended St. Oran's from 1882 to 1912, they would have had three different ministers: Donald Tolmie Masson (served 1854-1897); George Robert MacLennan (1897-1910); and John Campbell MacGregor (1911-1916.)[41]

It seems that the services usually had under 20 people attending. Alasdair Alpin MacGregor writes in a book about his childhood in Edinburgh, that he and his family, beginning circa 1911, attended the Gaelic services at St. Oran's which were in the evening. "The congregation, inclusive of supernumeraries, seldom exceeded a

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[38] See Appendix 1.3 for a "Summary List" of some of this material in the Carmichael-Watson Collection, and Appendix 1.4 for a transcriptions of several letters from Henderson to Carmichael from the C-W collection.

[39] "Death of George Henderson," *The Oban Times*, 29 June 1912, p. 5, cols. 6-7.

[40] Hew Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticanae* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1915), Vol. 1, pp. 30-32.

[41] *Fasti Ecclesiae*, Vol. 1, p. 32 and Vol. 8 (published in 1950), p. 8.

score."[42] In listing some of the 26 Gaelic attending faithful, he mentions a Dr. Masson, probably the recently retired minister, Miss Frances Tolmie, "renowned for her contributions to Celtic lore, and especially to The Songs of the Hebrides," and "a retired Professor of Celtic and his daughter. . . ."[43] Perhaps MacGregor was mistaken about the "retired" and was referring to Mackinnon, because he moved back to Colonsay when he retired and lived only six months afterwards. Otherwise, this account is backed up by church minutes. Prof. Mackinnon was an active member, serving as one of the church managers from 1898 until at least 1909.[44] In a letter to the session, Mackinnon requests that there be one communion service in the afternoon because of poor attendance (there were separate Gaelic and English services).[45] The minutes also state that a "D. MacKechnie, 5 Forth Street" was appointed manager with Mackinnon.[46] This may have been Donald MacKechnie, but I do not know his address. A Mrs. Tolmie is listed as joining in 1909,[47] which would be the right time period for MacGregor's comments, but Frances Tolmie was apparently not married. This could be a clerical error made by the session clerk. In any case, it appears that the St. Oran's Church was a place where Gaelic speakers, including some members of Carmichael's circle, gathered for worship, if only in relatively small numbers.

Carmichael's name does not appear in the minutes of St. Oran's church. This is in keeping with what Carmichael's son wrote about him in the letter mentioned earlier: "he hardly ever went to church. . . ." It is interesting that this man who spent so much of his life collecting and communicating the prayers and religious lore of a people did not attend the Gaelic services to which some of his colleagues went. He was baptized and brought up in the Church of Scotland, but does not appear to continue participation much after that. It is quite possible that Carmichael's belief that the Church was a major contributor to the dissolution of Gaelic culture made it

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[42] Alasdair Alpin MacGregor, *Auld Reekie: Portrait of a Lowland Boyhood* (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1943), p. 88.

[43] MacGregor, p. 89.

[44] Gaelic Chapel, St. Oran's in the National Library of Scotland (CH2/766/5) Minutes 1863 1911, pp. 188 and 328.

[45] Minutes, pp. 165-6.

[46] Minutes, p. 188.

[47] Minutes , p. 344.

impossible for him to attend a congregation in good conscience (I, xxv). The institutional Church is, after all, distinct from the personal prayers which Carmichael collected.

As one looks at the lives of these men, some similarities appear. All except Prof. Blackie were born in the Highlands or Islands, yet all except John Murdoch and Father Allan lived the latter part of their lives in the Lowlands. Except for Henderson and Mackinnon, all had professions in areas not directly related to Gaelic—their Gaelic scholarship was an avocation. Related to this, it seems that for most of them, their Celtic learning was not in a formal setting (this is understandable, since there were very few Celtic "courses" within the higher educational system.) Many of them earned honorary degrees near the end of their lives for their work. They shared information with each other, soliciting advice, articles, and material. All are well-published, except Father Allan who seems to have collected and assisted with much more than that for which he is credited.

It was they who founded, served on, or at least encouraged many "institutions" of Gaelic scholarship like the *Celtic Review* and other journals, university Celtic societies, antiquarian organizations, and, of course, the Edinburgh University Chair of Celtic. Nicolson and Mackinnon served on the Crofting Commission, and Carmichael contributed two articles to it, encouraging important reforms in laws concerning crofts. The committee to revise the Gaelic Bible also contained members of this coterie. Whatever their shortcomings, their contribution to twentieth century Gaelic scholarship is significant.

Kenneth MacLeod says of Iain (John) Francis Campbell (1822-1885), "he was never quite one of us—he could never altogether hide the fact that he had learnt his art with other peoples and in other schools."[48] Campbell was born in Islay (his father owned it at the time!) The *Companion* describes him as, "Aristocrat, courtier, lawyer, public servant, world traveller, and man of many talents."[49] A good description of his character compared to the Highlander might be seen in a visit described by Carmichael when he and Campbell stopped at a hut in South Uist in September 1871:

[48] MacLeod, Interpreter, p. 118.

[49] Thomson, p. 32.

> Hector Macisaac, the unlettered cottar who knew no language but his own, who came into contact with no one but those of his own class, his neighbours of the peat-bog, and who had never been out of his native island, was as polite and well-mannered and courteous as Iain Campbell, the learned barrister, the world-wide traveller, and the honoured guest of every court in Europe. Both were at ease and at home with one another, there being neither servility on the one side nor condescension on the other. (I, xxiv)

Carmichael compliments both Campbell and the cottar Macisaac in this description. Despite this collegiality, perhaps the apparent class difference contributed to his exclusion from being "one of them." Nevertheless, he clearly travelled at times with Carmichael and exchanged information with him and others in collecting stories of the West Highlands. Campbell published four volumes of *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* from 1860-2, and *Leabhar na Féinne* in 1872. Carmichael contributed to both.[50] MacLeod states in Carmichael's eulogy,

> Campbell of Islay and his coadjutor, Hector Maclean, could get the heroic tales and ballads, the things which were recited in public at the ceilidh; only Alexander Carmichael could have got the hymns and the incantations, the things which were said when the door was closed, and the lights were out.[51]

There could be some truth in this distinction between Carmichael and Campbell. If Campbell truly was a sophisticated "man of the world," it makes sense that the crofters would not wish to share their more intimate personal prayers with him. So, although he was an exciseman, Carmichael seems to have had the ability to put people at ease enough to allow them to divulge more. It is also probably true that, given his occupation, Carmichael spent a longer period of time getting to know the people who contributed to his collection than Campbell could or did.

Alexander Macbain (1855-1907) was a most interesting Gaelic scholar who was not a close member of Carmichael's circle. Like all of the others, he was born in the Highlands/Islands: Glenfeshie in Badenoch. Macbain spoke only Gaelic until the age of eight or nine years old, and by 15 he spoke English haltingly.[52] He was always

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[50] See John Francis Campbell, *Popular Tales* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1890-93), Vol. 3, pp. 120-6; Vol. 4, pp. 209-226.

[51] MacLeod, p. 119.

[52] W. J. Watson in the Introduction to Macbain's *Celtic Mythology and Religion* (Stirling: Eneas Mackay, 1917), p. v.

a good student, and eventually graduated with Honors from the University of Aberdeen in 1880. That year he was appointed Rector of Raining's School in Inverness under the government of the Highland Trust. One of his students at Raining's School was George Henderson. Macbain served as Rector until 1894, when the school was transferred to the Inverness Burgh School Board. He worked for the Secondary Department of the High Public School until his sudden death in 1907. He received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws (LL.D.) from the University of Aberdeen in 1901, and in 1905 he was granted a Civil List Pension of ninety pounds.[53] His obituary in the *Scotsman*, 6 April 1907, says they "believed he died from an overdose of a drug that he had been using for sleeplessness." Other sources say he died of a cerebral hemorrhage.[54]

Macbain contributed many papers to The Gaelic Society of Inverness (G.S.I.), and served as editor of both the *Celtic Magazine* and *Highland Monthly*. He published *Reliquiae Celticae* with his lifelong friend the Rev. John Kennedy. Macbain's greatest scholarly publication was his *Gaelic Etymological Dictionary* published in 1896 and revised in 1911. As stated before, he edited Skene's *Highlanders of Scotland* in 1902.[55]

It is clear that he knew and related to members of Carmichael's circle, and he was definitely a Highlander born and bred, from humble means. So why was he not one of the "real" members of this intimate collegial group? MacLeod touches on the heart of it in Carmichael's eulogy: "one could never quite get rid of the feeling that in temperament he was Teutonic rather than Celtic, and the the scientist in him was always stronger than the Gael, as was really the case."[56] As one compares William J. Watson's *Celtic Review* eulogy of Macbain and MacLeod's of Carmichael the difference becomes clear. Watson speaks of Macbain's scholastic and literary achievements, and his approach to scholarship:

> He had ever the true scientific spirit in his respect for facts, and in the pains he took, and would have others take, in verifying them. . . . All

[53] W. J. Watson, "Alexander Macbain, LL.D," *The Celtic Review*, 3 (July 1906 to April 1907), 382.

[54] Watson, p. 381.

[55] Watson in Macbain, *Mythology*, p. xi.

[56] MacLeod, p. 118.

> Macbain's articles show how firmly he held to his guiding principle, verified knowledge of the facts.[57]

MacLeod speaks of Carmichael as one who "saw with our eyes, who felt with our heart,"[58] the "our" here representing "the Gael." Although Watson mentions Macbain's concern for some of his Highland students, it comes through as concern that they achieve academic success—which many of them did. Carmichael's care for crofters and Highlanders in Edinburgh is stressed, as is the affection that MacLeod and others feel for him.

Macbain did not hesitate from being critical of what he saw as scientific complacency on the part of "Gaels." In his first speech at the Gaelic Society of Inverness in February, 1882, at only 27 years of age, he said:

> Hitherto the Highlanders have been too much inclined to guess, and too little inclined to accurate scientific research. . . . We want a good critical edition of the Gaelic poets; we want also a scientific Gaelic Dictionary dealing with the philology of the language.[59]

Macbain published a philological dictionary only four years later. In the same speech, he betrays his acceptance of the Teutonic/Celtic ideological split. He lauds the Germans for rescuing Gaelic:

> It was left for science, for the science of language, in the hands of cool-handed Germans, to rescue the Gael and his tongue, alike from friend and foe.[60]

It seems clear that Macbain respects the "dispassionate" Germans for their scientific scholarship. One can only imagine the reaction to his words of those attending the annual dinner at the Caledonian Hotel! The minutes report "loud applause" so they must not have been highly offended. Macbain does mention "workers in the field": Campbell of Islay, Nicolson, and A. Mackenzie. His view of the study of the Gaelic language is one resigned to its impending extinction: "The interest in the Gaelic language must soon be mainly literary and scientific—the study

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[57] Watson in Macbain, *Mythology*, pp. x, and xi.

[58] MacLeod, p. 118.

[59] Macbain, Alexander. "Tenth Annual Dinner—Speeches," *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, 10 (1881-83), 96.

[60] Macbain, Speeches, p. 96

of its literary remains and of the language itself."[61]

Despite his claims at scientific objectivity, Macbain reflects in his book, *Celtic Mythology and Religion*, the scholarly view of that time of humanity's evolutionary "progress." In speaking of Celtic stone circles and their use, he says:

> Reverence and belief in the sense understood by a civilised and educated person there are none. . . . To project the highest feelings and opinions of civilised man—and these local, too—into the early state of man, is to overlook the long perspective of time with its evolution of ever higher feelings and beliefs.[62]

I will discuss this perspective at greater length below, but it is important to note that although he was praised for his "objective scientific" methods, Macbain still reflects his time. It seems clear that in many ways Macbain better fits the twentieth century understanding of a scholar. When he says in his speech, "What we need at the present time is judicious collecting and good editing of the works we have,"[63] his idea of 'judicious' collecting and 'good' editing are perhaps closer to a contemporary approach, but there would doubtless be great differences as well. So, it seems that Macbain was not part of Carmichael's circle because his attitude towards Gaelic scholarship was quite different from the members of the coterie.

• Carmichael as Seen by Three Modern Scholars•

The opposition of 'scientific Teuton' versus 'sympathetic Gael' (e.g., Macbain v. Carmichael) is important as we turn to look at ways in which Carmichael and nineteenth century Celtic scholarship have been viewed by modern scholars. I will look at three writers: Patrick Sims-Williams, Malcolm Chapman and Laurie Patton (who in turn mention Hamish Robertson and John Lorne Campbell). Their thoughts will address the 'authenticity question' of CG, and place Carmichael into a context which will be helpful in future consideration of his work.

• Sims-Williams •

Patrick Sims-Williams gave the O'Donnell Lecture in 1986 at the University of Edinburgh, entitled "The Visionary Celt: The Construction of an Ethnic Preconception." In it, he claims that the idea of Celts and Saxons as antithetical

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[61] Macbain, Speeches, p. 96.

[62] Macbain, *Mythology*, p. 226.

[63] Macbain, Speeches, p. 96.

entities is still relevant today. He traces some of the people and factors which contributed to the development of racial myths which create this dichotomy between "mystical" Celt and "rational" Teuton. He is especially interested in the stereotype of Celt as a highly spiritual being—the "visionary Celt"; this is then placed in opposition with the mundane, scientific Teuton. Some of the people who enabled these racial myths, Sims-Williams claims, were Celts who "conspired" with non-Celts. He considers Alexander Carmichael one such "co-conspirator." I will discuss Sims-Williams' arguments in a little more detail, and then respond to his claims.

Sims-Williams discusses the importance of Ernest Renan's (1823-1892) and Matthew Arnold's (1822-1888) writing in forming the framework of a great deal of Celtic scholarship of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

> Renan and Arnold set up the spiritual, impractical, rural, natural, and poetic Celtic peoples as the antithesis to materialism, 'Saxon' philistinism, utilitarianism, excessive rationalism, artificiality, industrial urbanization, and all the other failings of the modern European world.[64]

This dichotomy between Celt and well-known European 'races' proved formative even to the present day. Sims-Williams admits that Renan and Arnold helped attract interest in Celtic literatures, but the perspective was not one of appreciation of their intrinsic worth. "They [Renan and Arnold] evaluated them [the Celtic literatures] in terms of the moral and spiritual lesson they might have or have had, for metropolitan Europe."[65] I would describe the view as not 'what can I learn about you?' but, 'what can I learn about myself through you?' Differences between the Celt and the known world of Europe, and the peripherality of Celtic Britain contribute to its mystique. Yet, as Sims-Williams says: "The Celts are, of course, only 'abnormal' and 'peripheral' in relation to other peoples who define themselves as normal and central."[66]

Sims-Williams goes on to state that although Arnold set out to bridge the gulf between Celt and Teuton, he ended up merely reversing the "traditional racial polarity

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[64]Patrick Sims-Williams, "The Visionary Celt: The Construction of an Ethnic Preconception," *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 11 (Summer 1986), 72.

[65] Sims-Williams, p. 73.

[66] Sims-Williams, p. 76.

in the Celts' favour."[67] What had been negative stereotypes of Celtic impracticality, etc. were now idealized images of the anti-materialist, spiritual Celt. Whether the stereotype is flattering or unflattering, it is a stereotype nonetheless.

Sims-Williams mentions Malcolm Chapman, who will be discussed below, in emphasizing the belief that Celts themselves have often accepted the Celtic racial myths given them by the European scholars. He says:

> I would go further and maintain that such Celtic racial myths are to a considerable extent the product of willing conspiracies between non-Celts and Celts, particularly Celts living in exile and interpreting their people to a foreign audience; . . . a list of such Celtic 'conspirators' might include Geoffrey of Monmouth, Gerald of Wales, James MacPherson, . . . Ernest Renan, Alexander Carmichael, [etc.][68]

So, although the 'imperialist context' of the European dominant culture was important in creating the racial myths, non-Celts had some assistance from these Celtic 'conspirators.'[69] It is not clear whether Sims-Williams considers Carmichael either in "exile" while living in Edinburgh, or interpreting the people to a "foreign" audience (Lowlanders, and English.) In any case, Sims-Williams portrays Carmichael as a Celt who willingly participates in the creation and perpetuation of Celtic racial myths.

Sims-Williams goes on to focus on one particular stereotype of the Celt, namely the "visionary Celt." He uses "this shorthand for the conception of the Celt as an abnormally visionary or imaginative being whose mind is fixed to an unusual degree on the spiritual, the occult, or the ideal."[70] This is an important stereotype to consider with regard to Carmichael because his collection concerns the 'spiritual/religious' mind set of the Highland peoples. Sims-Williams discusses Arnold's avoidance of Celtic Christianity (as opposed to pre-Christian religion), and Renan's understanding of the **physical** journey as **spiritual** journey: "Physical, material peripherality is seen as the correlative of spiritual 'superiority' or 'depth' . . . ."[71] Observation of "flesh and blood modern Celts" was not important to Renan and Arnold, claims Sims-Williams, because they were interested only in an idealized past

[67] Sims-Williams, p. 74.

[68] Sims-Williams, p. 77.

[69] Sims-Williams, p. 77.

[70] Sims-Williams, p. 78.

[71] Sims-Williams, p. 82.

not in the concrete and sometimes unromantic realities of their present.

Sims-Williams ends his lecture/article by quoting Chapman's statement that the Celt served the European scholars of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries "as a figure of opposition [to their ordered, rational, civilized intellectual polity], a mythical alter-ego which they used in pursuit of their own self-definition."[72] Although the idealized stereotype of the 'visionary Celt' may be more appealing to Celticists than its negative counterpart, he says, "they are two sides of the same colonial coin."[73] Lastly, Sims-Williams rhetorically asks if the contrast of Celt and Saxon is a helpful model for clear scholarship.

I agree that the false dichotomy between Teuton and Celt can be misleading in scholarly efforts. The stereotype of the "visionary Celt" has positive and negative sides, and both are still caricatures of the truth. (See my discussion of Chapman for further comments below.) I agree with Sims-Williams that Ernest Renan's conception of the Celtic lands as "peripheral" is culturally and geographically egocentric. The idea of equating peripherality with spiritual depth is also quite naive and unhelpful. As misleading as it can be, however, human beings have a tendency to view distance from one's own culture as psychologically implying difference from it, usually an exotic mystique, and perhaps a freshness as well.

It is helpful to compare Carmichael and Renan, but I disagree with Sims-Williams about some of what he sees as similarities between the two. It is true that Carmichael held a romantic view of the Celtic people similar to Renan. In the introduction of CG, Carmichael says that the collection would prove,

> that the Northern Celts were endowed, as Renan justly claims for Celts everywhere, with "profound feeling and adorable delicacy" in their religious instincts. (I, xxxiii)

While Carmichael may be accused of having a romantic view of the Highland and Island people, he was not guilty of being disinterested in "flesh and blood modern Celts" as Sims-Williams claims Renan and Arnold were. As romantic as his views of the Highland and Island people were, they were based on his experiences with them.

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[72] Sims-Williams, p. 90.

[73] Sims-Williams, p. 93.

Carmichael lived for his first 50 years among his fellow islanders, collected their thoughts, and was an advocate for justice for them. Though he mourned the passing of a culture, he was very interested in the plight of his contemporary Celts.

Sims-Williams' language of "co-conspirators" is misleading, especially in regard to Carmichael. The language of conspiracy implies secret, suspicious methods, or intentional deception. Carmichael (as discussed further below) was open about his methods. Though those methods do not fit 20th century scholarly standards, he was not deceptive about his practices.

I agree that the people Sims-Williams lists as "co-conspirators" were important in the formation of stereotypes of the Celts which have at times been very destructive to a balanced scholarly understanding of Celtic culture. They are, however, different from each other in many ways—different motives, backgrounds, and they produced different works. At least in the case of Alexander Carmichael, there was no collusion with non-Celts on his part to perpetuate what he knew to be false racial stereotypes. Carmichael was trying to present Highland and Island culture to people who had been unwilling or unable to see its beauty before—there was no conspiracy. Rather than call Carmichael and others "co-conspirators," Sims-Williams would be clearer to call them "contributors" (intentionally or not) to the creation and perpetuation of romantic stereotypes of Celtic people.

• Chapman •

Malcolm Chapman, in his book *The Gaelic Vision in Scottish Culture* explores in depth the issue of Gaelic culture's adoption, and perhaps recreation, at the hands of the dominant English-speaking culture. Like Sims-Williams, he sees the positive stereotypes and the negative ones as two aspects of the same perception. Chapman claims that the old lore and customs of the nineteenth century come to us just as much from the work of Lowlanders and "cosmopolitan scholars" as from Highlanders.[74] This, I think, is not entirely true of the nineteenth century. It may be said of Skene, Blackie, Mackinnon, Henderson and Campbell that they were cosmopolitan scholars, some of them only in later life. Yet does their education and residence in Edinburgh

[74] Malcolm Chapman, *The Gaelic Vision in Scottish Culture* (London: Croom Helm, 1978), p. 15.

mean they were no longer Highlanders? Carmichael was born in, and lived and worked in the Highlands and Islands until he was 50 years old, and continued to spend time there after moving to Edinburgh. Despite his connections with some more cosmopolitan and more formally educated scholars, it seems likely that his 'character' was well-formed by the time he moved to Edinburgh. Chapman's clarifications are helpful, but he sometimes exaggerates the truth in order to fit his thesis.

As an example of switching the stereotype polarities from negative to positive, Chapman quotes John Lorne Campbell, who regrets that the Celts have sometimes been characterized as being "uncouth in speech" or "barbarous in manners." "He [Campbell] would prefer to argue, the contrary, that the Gaels have 'An ever-present sense of the reality and existence of the other world of spiritual and psychic experience.'"[75] Chapman claims the negative and positive statements are, in fact, " . . . statements of the same order, in that both owe their organising rationality to the discourse of the dominant English-speaking majority."[76] He asserts that since " . . . the eighteenth century, the Celtic fringes have posed for the urban intellectual as a location of the wild, the natural, the creative and the insecure."[77] He thinks that the approval or disapproval of the Celts by non-Celts is based upon the same system of structural opposition: violent/impetuous emotional, animal/natural, no sense of property/spiritual, without manners/naive.[78] Chapman chooses to disregard the question as to whether this system produces approval or derision, and focus instead on the inappropriateness of the structural system itself. Unlike Sims-Williams, who asks the question is this system clear and helpful, Chapman seems to assume that it is not helpful, because it is based upon a warped perception of a minority culture by a majority one. One wonders, is it possible in Chapman's view for a dominant culture to view a sub-culture objectively, seeing its intrinsic worth rather than merely its ability to aid in the majority culture's self-definition?

I will describe at length Chapman's argument and his discussion of

[75] Chapman, p. 17.
[76] Chapman, p. 17.
[77] Chapman, p. 18.
[78] Chapman, p. 18

Carmichael as an example of a nineteenth century folklorist who he believes was guilty of using this inappropriate system of dichotomies of Celt/Teuton which the English speaking culture thrust upon Gaelic culture. He begins by stating that we look to the eighteenth century as a watershed for the Highlands not because of events such as the Clearances, and Culloden but because it was then that the outside world began to be interested in the Highlander.[79] This idea seems to take away from the intrinsic value of the significance of those events. Just as the period of the Lordship of the Isles, and the time of Kenneth MacAlpin were important, the eighteenth century was a watershed in Highland history, regardless of the outside world's attention to it as such.

Chapman continues, saying that during the eighteenth century's historical retrospective definition called 'Romanticism,' a common theoretical concern was the contemplation of the nature of society and its development. A good example of this can be found in George Henderson's book, *Survivals of Beliefs among the Celts*. He describes his aim as a "psychical anthropology of the Celts. . . . [I]t is a history of soul-belief, over a given area, treated in a comparative light."[80] Chapman claims that just when British intelligentsia were becoming interested in primitive man and society, along came the Gael (at least British attention to things Celtic). Gaeldom was close enough to be noticed—even "tamed and improved," but distant enough to be exotic.[81] MacPherson's Ossianic epic poems and the ensuing controversy of the late eighteenth century brought further attention to the Scottish Gael.

It is interesting to note that Alexander Macbain in his speech to the Gaelic Society of Inverness discusses the Ossianic controversy. He says, using the dubious dichotomy under scrutiny by Sims-Williams and Chapman, that the controversy involved "a typical Saxon and a typical Celt—Johnson and Macpherson."[82] His attitude towards the poems is significant in reflecting a relatively 'unromantic' nineteenth century scholar's attitude towards 'ethnographic authenticity.'

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[79] Chapman, p. 19.

[80] George Henderson, *Survivals of Beliefs Among the Celts* (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1911), p. 3 and p. v.

[81] Chapman, p. 19.

[82] Macbain, Speeches, pp. 94-5.

> And after all what does it much matter whether they are largely composed by Macpherson himself or not, if the poems are really good and have the true Celtic ring about them? . . . nor can they be laid aside from doubts as to their origin.[83]

What 'the Celtic ring' is, only Macbain and his contemporaries know. So, despite Macbain's apparent fulfillment of a more twentieth century standard of good scholarship, he still reflects his time and background. Macbain would probably say the same thing about the '*Carmina Gadelica* Controversy.' I would agree that CG should not be laid aside, but the question of authorship/authenticity is important to address before any claims can be made about whose beliefs the prayers reflect.

The Highlands, Chapman claims, have been looked to as a source of fidelity to the past—their own, Scotland's, and by extension, humanity's. His argument lies in the fact that the more this fidelity was sought by the majority culture, the more the Highlands became part of a world view not its own.[84] Like Sims-Williams, Chapman thinks the Gaelic culture was co-opted by the English-speaking culture in the dominant culture's process of self-definition. This use, Chapman claims, of Gaelic culture as a symbolic element has lead to the Highland adoption of, or transformation into the literary image created by an outside culture. So, not only are there stereotypes imposed from without, but these images are so persuasive/seductive that Gaeldom has become the stereotype. Therefore, according to Chapman's theory, it would be difficult to discern what in Gaelic culture is 'genuine,' and merely the fulfillment of the majority culture's expectation. In reading Chapman, one is left with the question, can **anything** in Gaelic culture since the late seventeenth century be considered 'authentic,' if this imposition of the dominant culture's stereotypes was so pervasive? Also, as mentioned before, the question arises as to whether as members of the dominant culture we can know the intrinsic worth of the minority culture if we **do** see it? I would submit that there **is** a genuine Gaelic culture to be found, even if it has been influenced from without. What culture, majority or minority, has not been shaped at least in part by factors outside its bounds? Chapman's thesis is helpful in that it is important to look at the ways Gaelic culture has been influenced, but I would

[83] Macbain, Speeches, pp. 94-5.

[84] Chapman, p. 26.

hesitate to take his suggestions as far as he does.

In one chapter in his book, Chapman discusses folklore and folklorists of the second half of the nineteenth century. Folklore studies, he says, are "inspired by a misapprehension of the potential of a scientifically conceived rationality to extend to all spheres of human activity."[85] It is clear that many folklore 'scholars' in this time period did see themselves as establishing **systems** in which one could understand all aspects of life. Henderson saw his book, *Survivals of Belief among the Celts*, as no "mere collection of folk belief,"—he was trying "to reduce them in an unpretentious way to some system from the point of view of a comparative study of man . . . and the interpretation of these [beliefs] in light of the 'soul.' "[86]

Chapman discusses Carmichael and John Francis Campbell as the two major folklorists connected with the Highlands in the late nineteenth century. He begins by admitting that their "monumental" works (Campbell's *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, and Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica*) are "uniquely valuable," but goes on to criticize their perspective and the entire area of 'folklore studies.' Chapman sees the attempt to bring a scientific approach to an area which is noted for its non-scientific character as ironic.

> Classification, enumeration, entabulation and the like were . . . early partners of the enthusiasm for folklore. . . . [T]hese two aspects of life [science and folklore], so often defined by their mutual opposition, retain to the present day this fascinatingly ambivalent partnership.[87]

I would argue that not every folklorist is attempting to 'codify and enumerate.' Is the collection and recording of some folk tale or belief inherently 'scientific'? Carmichael does give some background to many of the prayers, and his introduction speaks of his appreciation of the Gaelic crofting life-style and his hopes for better treatment of the people, but he does not give grand systems for interpretation of the prayers. It is true that the prayers are arranged around themes in the volumes (invocations, seasons, labour, etc.), but no more so than one might find in a collection of literary poetry. Unlike Henderson, Carmichael was not trying to develop a "system

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[85] Chapman, p. 25.

[86] Henderson, p. 2.

[87] Chapman, p. 119.

. . . [or] comparative study of man."[88] He did do some interpretation of the material he presented, but the material took precedence over any description of it. That is why the CG volumes contain far more verse texts than interpretive passages.

Chapman seems to be making claims about the nature of 'science' and 'folklore' to build up to the point that if "a people whose whole system of knowledge is classified as 'folklore' [it] is consequently devoid of rationality and intellect."[89] This, he states, is obviously not true, and should cause us to look behind the statement to "the validity of the original imagery."[90] I agree wholeheartedly with Chapman in the thought that dualities such as intellectuality/emotionality are not "suitably analytical, suitably clear, to bear the theoretical weight which is put upon them."[91] Yet, nowhere does Carmichael claim that CG represents the whole Gaelic "system of knowledge." I would add that we can use the folklore to tell us what it can about the culture, without necessarily assuming that the culture is devoid of rationality, scientific insight, etc. Alexander Carmichael was a specialist in collecting folklore, especially religious hymns and prayers. Is he to be faulted for focusing his collection on one area of life, albeit a pervasive one?

Chapman quotes from Carmichael's introduction to CG, and says that, "Carmichael draws particular attention to the fact that the Highlanders failed to recognise the distinction between the sacred and the secular."[92] This distinction, Chapman claims, is a cornerstone of European intellectual discourse, not one which the Gael would necessarily acknowledge.

> If features that appeared to the educated mind to be 'religious' appeared in the ordinary life of the Gael, this was not dealt with by abandoning the distinction as inappropriate, but by arguing that the Gael was particularly religious; since it was not just a small and discrete part of his activity that was religious but, apparently all his activity. Thus he becomes wholly religious, just as he had been wholly emotional, wholly 'folk.'[93]

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[88] Henderson, p. v.

[89] Chapman, p. 125.

[90] Chapman, p. 125.

[91] Chapman, p. 126.

[92] Chapman, p. 126.

[93] Chapman, p. 126.

I would agree that if this duality of sacred v. secular is not explored and understood properly it does not assist clear scholarship. If, however, this duality is part of the Western consciousness, then to be clear, it should be addressed head-on, discussing its inadequacies as well as ways in which it assists lucid understanding. This relates back to the question whether it is possible for one in a majority culture to understand a minority culture in its own terms. Any attempt to understand another custom, belief, culture, or even individual must begin using vocabulary the learner understands. Rather than discard the distinction, it could be used as long as it is helpful in showing the difference between the learner's approach or understanding and the culture being communicated. Carmichael was justified in emphasizing this difference using the language of secular and sacred. Perhaps he felt the prayers themselves would flesh out what this means. He was not necessarily advocating that Gaels should be viewed as 'wholly religious' but that they have a different understanding of God's presence, and when and how humans can relate to God.

Chapman thinks that the collection of folklore sometimes might cause the reciters to come to view their "tales/beliefs/prayers as suspect, perhaps of 'savage fancy.' "[94] This is entirely possible, but also rather dependent upon the collector's attitude and relationship to the contributors. To defend Carmichael once more, it was the **clergy** of the islands who in great part had caused people to view Gaelic tradition with suspicion. Carmichael believed in and appreciated the religious tradition which he collected. His friend John Francis Campbell quotes a letter from Carmichael regarding Ossian's poems in *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* : "I believe in them myself—fully believe. I am literally convinced that Fingal lived and that Ossian sang."[95] Yet, in unpublished notes in the Carmichael-Watson Collection of manuscripts, Carmichael describes an account of a man who could stop bleeding in horses, cattle, and in human beings, and says:

> This belief is common among a people as well read and intelligent as any of their class ~~in~~ within or without the British Isles. [¶] I neither believe nor disbelieve these beliefs for I do not understand them ~~and may never understand them~~. Enough for me to have rescued them from inevitable disappearance/effacements and to have left them for the

[94] Chapman, p. 129.

[95] J. F. Campbell,*Tales*, vol. 4, p. 226.

examination of the learned.[96]

Whether he actually believed in everything which he recorded or not, it is clear that he had great respect for the beliefs of the people who contributed to his collection. He was trying to save the remnants of what he saw as a dying culture, before it would be lost under the pressure of the Protestant church, and English-speaking society. He would not have been able to collect all that he did without making the people with whom he spoke feel at ease enough to confide in him that which they had probably been forced to view with suspicion by others.

Chapman confesses that he is ambivalent towards the entire enterprise of folklore collection. He feels it has no value if it is dead and only quoted by a few scholars in the occasional academic journal. It must have a living context, and rarely does; so that which is lost, is lost, even though a 'corpse' might be 'mummified' and stored away. He also asks, how much folklore is enough folklore?[97] When do we know we have stored enough of what would otherwise be lost?

To come to the defense of folklorists, I would say that even a dusty, mummified folk tradition is better than no folk tradition. It is true that the living context is lost, and that is what is of greatest worth. Nevertheless, folklore is worth saving because it does give us a glimpse, however incomplete, into the lives of those who might not otherwise be known to us. Unfortunately, it is not always easy to know at the time of recording, which folklore is worth saving, so perhaps more is sometimes collected than warrants use.

I agree that a revival of folk tradition is completely different from a survival. Yet often, revival of some dead tradition brings new dimensions to a living one. The popular use of CG is a perfect example. For a long time it was only known by Gaelic scholars and a few religious Scots. Now its prayers are used by Christians in Britain and the United States. Yes, too many claims are made about "the" Celtic spirituality and Church, but CG is now appreciated and used in living traditions (even if they are not ones in direct continuity with the collection). These contemporary traditions seek

[96] Carmichael-Watson Collection 501B, Special Collections, University of Edinburgh Main Library, see Appendix 1.4.

[97] Chapman, pp. 136-38.

expressions of the desire to experience God in everyday life, even though the context of their use may be very different from that in which the prayers were composed and originally used.

• Patton •

Folk literature, says Chapman quoting an anthropologist named R. K. Jain, reflects a triad of: the anthropologist, the composer of the text, and the society to which it refers.[98] He goes on to say:

> H. Robertson (1976), in his study of the relationship of the folklorist Alexander Carmichael to Gaelic society and the literature that he collected from it, . . . [shows us] the creative and distorting intervention that Carmichael's innocent collecting became. This is not any peculiar reflection of Carmichael, but rather a recognition of the inevitable complexity and difficulty presented by the 'fascinating triad' of which Jain speaks.[99]

Laurie Patton explores this triad relationship in her essay which examines CG as an ethnographic representation.[100] She discusses Carmichael and CG because,

> As an educated 'native,' peripheral to the reigning scientific ethos in folklore studies, and yet possessing a deeply invested interest in matters Celtic, Carmichael and his work provide a fascinating configuration to test the relationship of culture, interpreter, and text.[101]

(I will discuss later why she puts native in inverted commas.) Patton gives some biographical information about Carmichael which is mostly from his eulogy in *The Celtic Review*. She mentions his "quiet but long-term activism" for the Highland people which culminated in the passing of the Crofter's Act.[102] In CG, Patton claims, Carmichael chose to present the prayers and their interpretation on the same page, "as two strands of a larger fabric. . . ."[103] This is untrue. Carmichael rarely **interprets** the meaning of a text. He usually gives only a brief context of its use or its collection. There are the longer descriptive passages at the beginning of some of the thematic

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[98] Chapman, p. 185.

[99] Chapman, p. 186.

[100] Laurie Patton, "Alexander Carmichael, *Carmina Gadelica*, and the Nature of Ethnographic Representation," *Proceedings of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium, 1988* ([U.S.]: Pangur Press, 1989), pp. 58-84.

[101] Patton, p. 59.

[102] Patton, p. 60.

[103] Patton, p. 61.

sections, and the significant introduction which differ slightly from her 'weaving' image. Patton states that Carmichael could have chosen a purely descriptive representation (as some of his contemporaries did—see "comparable works" below). We can be thankful that Carmichael chose to give readers **examples** of the beautiful richness of the culture, rather than just describe it.

I would agree that Carmichael does both describe and transcribe. Patton discusses the different ethnographic stances which one ethnographer calls 'they-picturing' (strict observation) and 'I-witnessing' (confessional accounts from author's perspective). Yet this ethnographer does not, she says, discuss what ethnographic representational texts would have looked like before this distinction was conscious, i.e., in Carmichael's work.[104]

Patton discusses Malcolm Chapman's description and criticisms of Carmichael. She sees Chapman's assertions about nineteenth century folklorists as "colored with his own rather impassioned point of view. . . ."[105] Nevertheless, she finds his work helpful in "emphasizing that the evolutionary schemas contributed to the urgency of the folklorist's project."[106] I will not go through her good account of Chapman's main points because my own is above, but will go straight on to her response to Chapman's criticisms.

Patton begins her response by admitting that:

> [O]ne cannot and should not deny that Carmichael's texts and descriptions are indeed immersed in the rhetorical style and romantic world view which was typical of his age.[107]

She goes on to add, however, that Chapman's critiques are one-sided. She asserts that archival notes and correspondence "show Carmichael to be extraordinarily open about his methods, and aware of the intellectual environment enough to take some distance from it."[108] I agree that Carmichael was open about his methods, and that he defined himself outside the scientific and academic realms. Given the scholarly

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[104] Patton, pp. 61-2.

[105] Patton, p. 64.

[106] Patton, p. 64.

[107] Patton, p. 67.

[108] Patton, p. 68.

circle with whom he associated and worked so closely, he clearly was not distanced in a collegial sense from the academy. It is true, however, that he did not claim great scholarly authority, or a 'scientific' method to his work the way Henderson did, for instance. As Patton suggests, Carmichael was content to bow to John Francis Campbell in academic concerns.[109]

Rather than seeing himself as an academic, Carmichael most often portrayed himself as a native, Patton asserts. He takes the Gaelic perspective in most things, "even in matters of belief."[110] His claims to being native betray, she says, a "paternalistic stance" as he often "invoked his nativized outlook in his efforts to gain economic relief for those living in the West of Scotland."[111] Her emphasis on his claims to being Gaelic, his nativized outlook are where I disagree with Patton. It is true that Carmichael was not in the same economic class as most of the crofters for whom he worked for justice. He was, however, a Highlander, and a Gael. As I said before, it is preposterous to think that a man who lived the first 50 years of his life in the Highlands and Islands is not a Gael. He was not even highly educated, if one accepts the stereotype that 'true' Highlanders are uneducated. So, his perspective did not need to be nativ**ized**, for he was a native. Is it paternalism when a native works for justice for his people? It is not.

Patton then turns to Hamish Robertson's criticisms of Carmichael's method in his article, "Studies in Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica*."[112] She encapsulates the criticisms well as being: 1) discrepancies between the prayers he gives in the 1884 Crofter's Report and Volumes I and II of CG; 2) the archaized language—use of rare words over common ones; 3) the adjusted structure of many of the charms; 4) saints epithets are often changed; and 5) his motive of exonerating the regional culture became an end in itself—what MacPherson did for the Gaelic bard, Carmichael would do for the cleric. In her response to these criticisms she points to Carmichael's open discussion with others about procedural problems. Carmichael used one version to

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[109] Patton, p. 68.

[110] Patton, p. 69.

[111] Patton, p. 69.

[112] Hamish R. Robertson, "Studies in Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica*," *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, 12, Pt. 2 (Autumn 1976), 220-265.

improve or correct another.[113] Quoting John Lorne Campbell[114] she writes:

> Although the modern folklorist will regret that Carmichael did not prefer to print one version as taken down and note the variants in the apparatus, it is doubtful any nineteenth century Scottish collector would have done this.[115]

Emphasizing his openness about his work and methods, Patton quotes a letter from Carmichael in which he bemoans "the worry of connecting, collating and combining all the different and divergent versions into one."[116] Patton goes on to state that Carmichael did not have a clear conception of what a modern anthropologist would call 'an authentic folklore text.' She speaks of a fluidity between the person and text. This fluid, living understanding of folklore, she rightly asserts is "ironically very much like Chapman's insistence that folklore is not frozen, and should not be frozen by science."[117] Carmichael was engaged in a public process of revision which did not end with publication.

Lastly, in responding to Robertson, Patton claims that it is not surprising that Carmichael used a standard of **beauty** rather than enlightenment **science** to vindicate Gaeldom, which had been accused of being without culture. She sums up her thoughts in reply to Chapman thus: "[Carmichael] used no scientific model or order for which he could be indicted. Writing, creating, transcribing were frustratingly fluid in his mind."[118] In response to Robertson she says, Carmichael's "work made no pretension to accuracy other than that imposed upon it by the academy itself."

Carmichael, she says, could best be described as "author and advocate, whose voice is heard in description and poetry at once." If he were seen as he wanted to be seen, "as a Gael through and through, would he then have taken the role of gifted informant with 'authentic' versions to give, another folklorist's right hand man?"[119] This is an extremely important point. Patton is unclear about whether or not she

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[113] Patton, pp. 71-2.

[114] John Lorne Campbell, "Notes on Hamish Robertson's 'Studies in Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica*,'" *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, 13, Pt. 1 (Autumn 1978), 1-17.

[115] Patton, p. 72.

[116] Patton, p. 73.

[117] Patton, p. 73.

[118] Patton, p. 75.

[119] Patton, p. 75.

thinks Carmichael was a 'Gael through and through,' but her statements about his nativized perspective imply that she does not. I assert that Carmichael was a native Highlander. He gathered the prayers over half a lifetime working in the Hebrides. He adapted and changed them to fit the purpose—some to a greater or lesser degree, but his was a case of a Gael (Gaidheal) adapting the Gaelic tradition, not a 'foreigner' (Gall).

Patton describes Carmichael as a filid: a poet, priest and prophet in one, whose work stands "between apology, ethnography, and poetry. Scholars admit to its powerful place in culture, yet are unable to define and control it as a legitimate corpus able to meet their needs."[120] I hope to 'define' *Carmina Gadelica* enough to be able to explore the rich mine of thought which it expresses. I will avoid making claims that the entire collection reflects, or is a 'survival of an ancient Celtic tradition.' Yet, I do assert that the prayers reflect a Gaelic perspective—whether Carmichael's, the nineteenth century crofters of South Uist, Gaelic believers in the distant past, or a combination thereof. It may be possible through comparison with other collections to claim that certain individual prayers reflect a more broadly used and/or older Gaelic prayer. Yet even if this does not prove possible, the prayers as they exist now express feelings and theological perspectives which are worth exploring. Just as it is possible to discuss the Psalms without knowing who wrote them, or even understanding the fullness of the context of their composition, it is possible to examine the prayers in CG, and consider their theological significance.[121]

• Conclusions •

To sum up, Alexander Carmichael was a Gael who reflected his scholarly and social milieu in many ways, especially in the thought that the Gaelic culture as he knew it would soon be 'extinct.' His circle of collegial friends influenced him, but there were distinctive characteristics to his work. He did not claim to be a scientist showing an authentic text preserved exactly as found. He was defending his people and culture from the accusation that they were devoid of worth, and from the

[120] Patton, p. 79.

[121] I admit the important role textual criticism and historical background play in good Biblical scholarship. I do believe, however, that it is possible and credible to interpret a text theologically even when no clear answer of authorship, or context can be found.

continuing encroachment of the Church's and English-speaking society's coercive actions based upon that accusation. It is clear that Carmichael does not use a 20th century standard of 'ethnographic representation.' Given the lack of some of his working manuscripts, it is difficult to discern to what extent his authorship plays a role in CG. This complexity does not warrant a rejection of the text as a 'fraud,' inappropriate for study. It does, however, limit the general claims which can be made about which ethnography, and whose perceptions, the prayers represent.

CHAPTER TWO

CARMINA GADELICA: PUBLICATION AND CONTENT

Carmina Gadelica at the present time, consists of six volumes in Gaelic and English. These volumes of material which Alexander Carmichael collected have a long publication history spanning three generations—over seventy years. Volumes I and II of CG were edited and translated by Carmichael himself, and the first edition was published in 1900 by T. and A. Constable in Edinburgh. From the outset of the publication process, there seems to have been an ambiguity about the nature of this collection, or at least how to describe it. Is this primarily a collection of oral literature, of folklore, of ancient mythology, of poetry, of song, of prayers, of **what**? This confusion is evidenced in the manner in which the collection was described in advertising, discussions about what to entitle the collection, and the way the material is classified in the published texts.

• Definition of prayer •

Before discussing this conceptual confusion about CG's content, it will be helpful to define what is meant by the word "prayer." *Oxford Encyclopedic English Dictionary*'s definition is not adequate for clear theological reflection: "1 a: a solemn request or thanksgiving to God or an object of worship; b. a formula or form of words used in praying" from the Latin precari, to entreat. Karl Rahner is correct when he states that: "prayer is not something that can be adequately described in equivalent terms from other fields of reality."[1] Despite this fact, it is necessary to attempt a clear description of what is meant by "prayer" in this thesis. In most theological references, prayer is generally defined as any human communication or communion with God or divine and spiritual entities.[2]

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[1] Karl Rahner, "Prayer," *Encyclopedia of Theology*, 1975 ed., p. 1268.

[2] See Rahner, p. 1275. C.F. D'Arcy, "Prayer (Christian,Theological),"*The Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, 1918 ed., Volume 10, p. 171. William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience.* (1902; reprint. New York: Penguin Books, 1982), p. 464.

Sam Gill's discussion of prayer as text, act, and subject in the *Encyclopedia of Religion* is helpful in examining CG as a collection primarily of prayers.[3] CG is clearly a collection of **texts**, most of which communicate with a divine realm in some way or another, and all of them were used in a private or at least non-liturgical setting. Gill states:

> Due to the materials available, prayer must often be considered primarily, if not solely, as texts, whose study is limited to the semantic, informational, and literary aspects of the language that constitutes them. Despite such limitations, the texts of prayers reflect theological, doctrinal, cultural, historical, aesthetic, and creedal dimensions of a religious culture.[4]

Any discussion of CG's prayers will be unfortunately bound by some of these limitations. The prayers do reflect the theological and historical context in which they were used, and this will be examined as much as is possible. There are limits, however, to what can be claimed about the prayers when little other information is available except the text of the words used. A number of the prayers are given some context. Carmichael says that most of the prayers were sung or intoned, and he says, "I greatly regret that I was not able to record this peculiar and beautiful music, probably the music of the old Celtic Church." (I, xxxii) Despite his inability to record the music as well as the text, Carmichael often describes ritual movement or activity associated with the use of the prayer, or occasionally the text itself describes ritual activity. This enables the reader at times to catch glimpses of the prayer as **act**. Gill describes:

> . . . a prayer as act, to have effect, to be true and empowered includes not only the utterance of words, but the active engagement of elements of the historical, cultural, and personal setting in which it is offered. It may include certain body postures and orientations, ritual actions and objects, designated architectural structures or physical environments, particular times of the day or calendar dates, specified moods, attitudes, or intentions.[5]

This provision of a partial context for a prayer's use is particularly prevalent in the prayers for healing, and those for protection against the evil eye, or injustice

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[3] Sam D. Gill, "Prayer," *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, 1987 ed., Volume 11, pp. 489-494.

[4] Gill, p. 490.

[5] Gill, p. 491.

which Carmichael (and J.C.Watson) call "charms." The use of the word "charm" as will be discussed below, implies to many that this is not a prayer. Yet, Gill is correct when he says that,

> when seen as act, the distinction between prayer and other religious speech acts—chant, spell, and formula—is less significant than it often is when distinguished and evaluated within particular religious traditions or theories of religion.[6]

So, the prayers in CG will be open to consideration as text, and in some cases, we can get an idea of the prayer as act. Prayer as **subject**—an "aspect of religion, the articulation on whose nature constitutes a statement of belief, doctrine, instruction, philosophy, or theology, . . . "[7]—is not so much the concern of CG, but is discussed within this thesis.

In the discussion of "Prayer (Introductory and Primitive)," E.N. Fallaize claims that "[g]enetically, prayer is related to the spell or charm; and it is frequently a matter of difficulty to determine whether a particular formula should be assigned to one category or another."[8] When prayer is seen as act this distinction is less necessary. In fact, the designation of some prayers as "spells" or "charms" implies, if not claims, that they are not Christian. These prayers may not all be the kind that Carmichael would have used (if he did pray), nor perhaps are they prayers that the author of this thesis or even the reader might be able to pray authentically. Yet that does not mean that they are not prayers by definition—human communication with the divine. William Mackenzie was a Gaelic scholar, not a theologian, but he is quite accurate in a statement he makes in the beginning of a collection of what is called "Gaelic Incantations, Charms and Blessings" (1892):

> . . . there are numerous specimens which are really of a Christian character, and are intended by the invocation of the Trinity to defy evil agencies, or effect cures. In these cases the Charms are forms of prayer—a sort of ritual unauthorised by the churches. . . . A discussion on the domain of prayer forms no part of my subject, but I think the ordinary mind may find it difficult to see wherein lies the difference between the simple-minded peasant who, with implicit faith in its efficacy, mutters a prayer with the view of stopping the toothache

[6] Gill, p. 491.

[7] Gill, p. 489.

[8] E.N. Fallaize, "Prayer (Introductory and Primitive)," *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, 1918. Volume 10, p. 154.

> or curing a colic, and the modern ecclesiastic who, by prayer, hopes to stamp out the influenza.[9]

Rather than use terms such as "hymn," "charm," "spell," "rune," or "incantation," which confuse more than they illuminate, I will call most of the texts in CG "prayers." This is justified because almost without exception they reflect an experience of life which is lived in a sacred realm. This is not to claim that the Celt is a "wholly religious" being as Chapman fears,[10] but that the material printed in **these** volumes often either directly addresses God or angels or saints, or invokes their name and/or presence. They are a communication with the divine, explicitly or implicitly, and can accurately be called "prayers." The few texts which do not fit the given definition of prayer, will be called "songs" or "poems."

It is an interesting side-note that in listing a bibliography for "prayer," Gill says,

> While folklore studies have become interested in the performance of many speech forms, especially among exclusively oral peoples, prayer is a form that has received little attention despite its abundant resources and importance within traditions studied.[11]

This is undoubtedly true of the study of CG, which has received surprisingly little attention from folklorists and theologians alike.

• Defining "classes" of prayer •

Sam Gill in his discussion of prayer previously mentioned, states:

> A common basic typology of prayer has been formulated by discerning what distinguishes the character and intent expressed by the words of prayer texts. This kind of typology includes a number of classes all easily distinguished by their designations. It includes petition, invocation, thanksgiving (praise or adoration), dedication, supplication, intercession, confession, penitence, and benediction. Such types may constitute whole prayers or they may be strung together to form a structurally more complex prayer.[12]

At this time, it will be helpful to define briefly some of these "classes" of prayer. This will enable clear theological discussion of the texts in the chapters which

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[9] William Mackenzie, "Gaelic Incantations, Charms, and Blessings of the Hebrides," *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, 18 (1891-92), 100.

[10] Chapman, p. 126.

[11] Gill, p. 493.

[12] Gill, p. 489.

follow. These definitions are based upon *Oxford English Dictionary* definitions, encyclopedia of religion, and theological reflection.

Adoration, praise, thanksgiving: adoration and praise are very similar. Adoration is worshiping God for who God is, especially for God as infinite and absolute. Praise is glorifying God for who God is. Thanksgiving has more to do with a response to God's actions, expressing gratitude for God's good gifts. "Christians praise God for what [God] is and thank [God] for what [God] has done. Yet, those concepts interpenetrate, for it is hard to separate gratitude for what God has done from joy that [God] is what [God] is."[13]

Confess, repent, justify, sanctify: to confess is to acknowledge, declare, or admit one's faults, wrongdoings, sins to God. To repent is to feel sorrow, regret or remorse for these sins, etc. To ask God for justification is to ask God to declare one righteous (based on one's faith, actions, or as a free gift of grace.) Sanctification looks more to the future, asking God to enable one to live a righteous, holy, pure life.

Intercede, petition, supplicate, bless: a prayer of intercession is "prayer with, for and on behalf of another person, group of people, or even the world, which is undertaken by an individual or group."[14] Petition is a prayer of asking for oneself. Supplication is also a prayer of request and it emphasizes the humble approach to God (from the Latin supplicare: sub-plicare—to bend from an inferior or lower rank or position). In CG, intercessions and petitions are usually asking for protection, healing, or blessing (divine favor). There is the practice of asking angels, saints or Mary to intercede for oneself. This kind intercession will be discussed at greater length in the chapters dealing with the saints, Mary, and the angels.

Invoke, consecrate, dedicate: invocation can refer to the prayer (Epiclesis) consecrating the bread and wine in the celebration of the Lord's Supper (Eucharist, Mass, Communion, etc.) In the context of the prayers in CG (which are almost all non-liturgical prayers), "invocation" will have the much more general meaning of calling upon (God, saints, angels, Mary, etc.) in prayer. This understanding of

[13] A. Michael Ramsey, "Prayer, Thanksgiving," *Westminster Dictionary of Christian Spirituality* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1983), p. 312.

[14] Michael Hollings, "Prayer, Intercession," *Westminster Dictionary of Christian Spirituality*, (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1983), p. 310.

invocation will include the calling upon the **name** of God, etc., or doing something in the name of God, etc. Invocation often involves no direct address to the divine power, but simply a statement of its name, or even a declaration of what is desired. "Consecrate," in the context of the discussion of CG prayers, means to make or declare sacred, or devote to a (holy) purpose. "Dedication" is virtually the same: devote to a deity or to a sacred purpose.

• Describing the content of *Carmina Gadelica* •

In one advertisement for the collection (when it was to be published earlier under a different title—see below),[15] Carmichael never refers in English to the material as 'prayers.' This seems strange since in CG many of the texts have 'prayer' in his **title** (e.g., Volume I, pp. 27, 35, 37, 57, 61, etc.) He calls them 'Poems,' 'oral literature,' 'literature,' 'Invocations and Incantations in verse,' and 'compositions,' but never 'prayers,' which Dwelly gives as the first definition of ora (from the Gaelic title) and of ùrnuigh which Carmichael uses in the Gaelic subtitle. Why does he hesitate to call them prayers? Would this bring with it a necessary recognition that they reflect real people's experience of, and relation to God, not just an example of a dying, beautiful culture? Although he does not call them 'prayers' except in the Gaelic title and sub-title, it seems that Carmichael feels that the content of the material reflects some kind of religious consciousness, but again, there seems to be an unwillingness to use the word "religious." He instead says that "These compositions reflect the varying phases of thought through which the Highland people passed from Pagan to Reformation times. . . ."[16] By using language like "phases of thought" rather than words like "faith, religious belief, or spirituality," Carmichael distances himself and the reader from an encounter with the texts as **relevant**, sacred material which might inform the **reader's** faith. Carmichael rightly recognizes some of the elements which helped form these "Poems": "Paganism," the Reformation, the Roman Catholic Church, and "the Celtic Church" (which as a term is suspect).[17] He asserts that,

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[15] See Appendices 2.1, photocopy of advertisement for a pre-publication form of CG (from the Carmichael-Watson Collection).

[16] Appendix 2.1.

[17] See Kathleen Hughes, "The Celtic Church: Is This a Valid Concept?" *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies*, 1 (Summer 1981), 1-20.

> These compositions . . . reveal Paganism and Christianity meeting, and merging into one another, like the prismatic tints of the rainbow. They are the partial embodiment and the special outcome of the teaching of the Celtic Church and of the Roman Catholic Church, and abound in picturesque and curious Pagan touches of interest in the history of human culture.[18]

Yet here again, he speaks in terms which enable the reader to avoid encountering the collection as an expression of living religious experience. As he says, the material has items "of interest in the history of human culture." There could be many reasons for Carmichael's avoidance of language which suggests that this collection could be used as a living religious text. One possibility is that because his own perspective was not particularly religious,[19] he does not discuss the collection in those terms. Another possibility is that he felt that a truly scholarly work needed to discuss things in terms like "phases of thought" and "history of human culture" rather than referring to the material as "subjectively informative," i.e., reflecting individual's religious beliefs and experiences which might impinge on the reader's personal beliefs. It is possible to explore prayer and religious experience in a scholarly way (my desire in this thesis), but it could be that in Carmichael's mind this was not seen as desirable or possible. Perhaps in the late nineteenth century, we still hear echoes of the Enlightenment emphasis on empiricism and human development.

This distancing from the text relates to the question of Celtic Romanticism. An important element in Celtic Romanticism is the idea that the culture is dying, evolving into obsolescence. Carmichael clearly sees this as an important factor in his collecting:

> The abundance, excellence and variety of the Oral Literature of the Highlanders of Scotland are now acknowledged. Various causes tended towards fostering this literature, as various other causes now tend towards its extinction.
>
> Impressed with the rapid disappearance of this literature, I began to write it down, and in order to rescue what I could, went to live in the Western Isles, where it was yet comparatively plentiful, verifying everything after the method of the eminent scholar, J. F. Campbell of Islay, my friend and correspondent over a quarter of a century.[20]

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[18] Appendix 2.1.

[19] See p. 2, of Chapter One.

[20] Appendix 2.1.

He often talks in terms of "rescuing" material from extinction. It is interesting that he seems to be saying that the reason for his moving to the Western Isles was to collect the literature, and not to work as an exciseman. This could indeed be true, because he seems to have requested to work in the Isles after some time in Dublin and Cornwall.

> [H]aving entered the Inland Revenue service, he was given an appointment in Cornwall, but, to use his own words, 'The song of the Isles was with me by day and by night, and it ever called me home;' nor did he rest content until he got himself transferred to a more congenial, though less lucrative, post in the Western Isles. Years after, the Board of Inland Revenue . . . offered him high office at headquarters, but neither gold nor position could tempt Alexander Carmichael away from the Isles. . . .[21]

If "neither gold nor position" could tempt Carmichael away, assuring a good education for his children could. That seems to be the reason he moved from the Isles to Edinburgh in 1882.

Carmichael is, of course, correct in that much of the rich heritage of the oral tradition has disappeared, and that makes this collection all the more important. Yet nowhere does there seem to be stated the idea that the collection (the **prayers**) might be of interest to readers on a personal level. Again, this might not have been appropriate considering the target subscriber: scholars with enough money to buy the expensive volumes. It is interesting that Carmichael says he used the "method" of his friend J.F. Campbell in an attempt to lend a kind of methodological credence to the collection. Yet, even in the later editions which were cheaper and more available, the volumes seem to be addressing only Gaelic intelligentsia, and scholars. This stands in sharp contrast to the contemporary editions of selections from CG and the all-English, one-volume edition published by Floris. These target the everyday person, encouraging use of the prayers in personal exploration and devotion. Scholars (whether Gaelic scholars, or theologians) have paid surprisingly little attention to the collection in the past fifty years. Perhaps this is due to the questions about linguistic and literary authenticity, or perhaps it is because of the nature of the material which is, in many ways, a very special kind of oral literature—a literature which was not just

[21] "Dr. Alexander Carmichael," *Oban Times*, 22 June, 1912, p. 3, col. 1. [by a "Correspondent (K.M.)." This probably refers to Kenneth MacLeod who often wrote for the newspaper.]

for education, entertainment, or historical recording, but for expressing, forming and nurturing the reciter's life in relationship with God. Therefore, to discuss the prayers in a scholarly way can be a very inter-disciplinary endeavor.

Although Carmichael does not refer to the material as prayers, he does, in listing to whom the work would appeal, list the student of **Theology** first, then "Mythology, Philology, Natural History, Archaeology and Art." Another example of Carmichael's recognition of the religious content of the collection comes in his description of the material as "sacred." He says in the same advertisement quoted above: "The large collection thus formed during the last forty years is divided into two portions—Sacred and Secular. The Sacred portion is now in publication. . . ." "Sacred" is defined in the Oxford Dictionary as "connected with religion . . . dedicated or appropriated to a god. . . ." So, again Carmichael has a vague reference to the religious nature of the material, while avoiding words like "religion" or "god." Perhaps Carmichael thought better of trying to describe his collection as being divided into the two categories of "sacred and secular," for in the published edition's introduction, he uses language similar to the 1897 advertisement about the supposed combination of "pagan" and Christian elements, and he asserts that the Highland people did **not** have a distinction between sacred and secular:

> Religion, pagan or Christian, or both combined, permeated everything—blending and shading into one another like the iridescent colours of the rainbow. The people were sympathetic and synthetic, unable to see and careless to know where the secular began and the religious ended. . . . (I, xxxiii)

If, as he says, the Highland people did not make a distinction between sacred and secular, why would Carmichael want to divide the material **they** had given to him into such apparently foreign conceptual compartments? James Carmichael Watson appears to continue this distinction between sacred and secular in his introduction to Volume IV. He claims that the content of Volume IV is, perhaps, not what Alexander Carmichael would have included in the CG collection.

> But there may have been included, and in a position of prominence, some matter which my grandfather might either have omitted or have presented in another context, better befitting its kind. . . . In these questions of selection and arrangement I claim only to have used my best judgement, bearing in mind the nature of the [vi] remaining

> material and the plan of the final volume; and I believe that the reader will uphold me, and that, in particular, he will not regret the inclusion of some verse and prose which the title of this book scarcely covers. (IV, v-vi)

(The plan of the final volume to which Watson refers is what ended up being Volumes V and VI which he thought would be one volume. It is discussed further below.) Perhaps James Carmichael Watson is right in his assumption that Carmichael might not have published some of the material in Volume IV as part of the CG collection and that, in fact, the material is the "Secular" portion to which Carmichael refers in the advertisement quoted above. It is possible, however, that the portion which Carmichael calls "Secular" material was some of his notes about birds, plants, and place-names of the Islands, and that he would have considered the content of Volume IV sacred as well.

While calling all the material "Sacred," in the advertisement, and in the 1900 printed edition, Carmichael divides the prayers into broad areas: "Some attempt has been made to classify the Poems into divisions :—HYMNS— I. of Invocation; II. of Seasons; III. of Labour; IV. Incantations; V. Miscellaneous."[22] These categories are not destructive if the reader remembers that all these are prayers, but some are related to a certain aspect of life more than others. There is, of course, a great deal of overlap between Carmichael's categories. There are invocations in the Seasons section, and incantations in the Labour section. These divisions would be destructive to understanding if the reader came to think of the Incantations, for example, as not being "prayers" like the others. Again, these concepts are placed upon the texts, they are not an intrinsic aspect of the prayers themselves, nor would they probably have informed the minds of the reciters. As will be seen in a description of the content below, James Carmichael Watson continues to have sections with headings in Volumes III and IV. His divisions, however, are much more frequent, and are usually clumps of a few very similar prayers. This is not an attempt to classify the prayers in a strict literary way, but rather a continuation of Carmichael's format. Again, these categories are acceptable if they do not become rigid divisions which destroy the organic nature of the prayers reflecting such a pervasive and diverse prayer life.

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[22] Appendix 2.1.

• Entitling the collection •

In addition to the way in which the collection is described in the advertisement, and the divisions/categorization of the texts, the discussion about what to entitle the collection reflects the uncertainty, or different thoughts about the nature of CG as a collection. The title page of the first edition says:

> CARMINA GADELICA / HYMNS AND INCANTATIONS / WITH ILLUSTRATIVE NOTES ON WORDS, RITES, AND / CUSTOMS, DYING AND OBSOLETE: ORALLY COLLECT- / ED IN THE HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS OF SCOTLAND / AND TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH, BY / ALEXANDER CARMICHAEL / VOLUME I / EDINBURGH / PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR BY / T. AND A. CONSTABLE, PRINTERS TO HER MAJESTY / AND SOLD BY NORMAN MACLEOD / 25 GEORGE IV. BRIDGE / 1900. . . . [on verso of title page] *Three hundred copies printed.*

There is a second title page which is in Gaelic:

> ORTHA NAN GAIDHEAL / URNAN AGUS UBAGAN / LE SOLUS AIR FACLA GNATHA AGUS / CLEACHDANA A CHAIDH AIR CHUL / CNUASAICHTE BHO BHIALACHAS / FEADH GAIDHEALTACHD NA H-ALBA / AGUS TIONNDAICHTE / BHO GHAIDHLIG GU BEURLA, LE / ALASTAIR MACGILLEMHICHEIL.

The collection had been recommended for publication by Oxford University Press in 1891. A form of Recommendation for Publication dated November 13 of that year states

> We recommend for publication at the expense of the University, or on such terms as may be specially agreed on, the following Work: "Idylls of the Isles" title to be altered typ [sic.] by Mr. Alexander Carmichael which to the best of our belief is likely to prove a Work creditable to the University, and to be of use to students and literary persons.[23]

Based upon the press release mentioned above, it seems that Carmichael and his daughter had hoped to publish the collection in 1897 with a different publisher, Archibald Sinclair, Celtic Press in Glasgow. Carmichael retired from the Board of Inland Revenue in 1897. Perhaps he was overoptimistic about how quickly he could go to press, or perhaps he had trouble with the publisher, or could not get enough subscribers for the book. For whatever reason, the collection was not published until

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[23] John Lorne Campbell, "*Carmina Gadelica*: George Henderson's Corrections and Suggestions," *Scottish Gaelic Studies*, 13 Part 2 (1981), 183.

1900, with the Edinburgh publisher, T. and A. Constable. "Finally Fr. Allan McDonald's friend Walter Blaikie intervened and secured the publication of the book by his firm T. & A. Constable of Edinburgh."[24] The subscription cost listed in the 1897 notices was £3 3s, which was quite dear at that time, and would have put the work out of reach for many people. There is a review or press release about the intended publication of the collection in the *Caledonian Medical Journal*, October, 1897, and there are many copies of the publicity flyer in the Carmichael-Watson Collection. Actually, in typical frugality, Carmichael used the backs of hundreds of the notices as notepaper for the collection itself. It is not clear whether these clearly post-1897 notes are copies of earlier ones, or newly composed ones by Carmichael. He and Ella advertised in 1897 for subscribers for the collection under the title:

> ÒR AGUS ÒB / HYMNS AND INCANTATIONS / WITH INTRODUCTIONS AND NOTES ON NATURAL HISTORY MYTHOLOGY / OBSOLETE TERMS AND ANCIENT CUSTOMS / ORALLY COLLECTED IN GAELIC THROUGHOUT THE HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS / OF SCOTLAND AND LITERALLY TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH / BY / ALEXANDER CARMICHAEL WITH ILLUSTRATIONS / GLASGOW / ARCHIBALD SINCLAIR / CELTIC PRESS / 1897 *(All Rights Reserved).*[25]

The main title (Òr agus Òb) was one of several titles discussed in letters to Alexander Carmichael from George Henderson from March, 1896 to September, 1900.[26] In a November 10, 1896 letter to Carmichael from Oxford which is not signed, but is in Henderson's hand, he writes: "The title must be short; no adjectives to be permitted (says E.); . . . Evans is of opinion that Hymn is misleading in this case and should be avoided. He suggests / Òr agus Òb / The Lays and Incantations of the Gael. . . ."[27] Henderson suggests in the same letter, the title "Leabhar Nan Òr," thereby "adopting the Gaelic tradition of naming books." He also discourages

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[24] John Lorne Campbell, "Introduction to the 1983 Reprint" of *Carmina Gadelica.*

[25] Appendix 2.2, photocopy of advertisement (from C-W 528C).

[26] John Lorne Campbell mentions this title debate in the SGS 13 article mentioned above. This article focuses mainly on a 35-page letter from Henderson to Carmichael, dated March 12, 1896. The letter contains over 90 suggestions regarding Carmichael's notes on Gaelic and/or how to translate certain words into English.

[27] From the Carmichael-Watson collection of manuscripts, item 527, in Edinburgh University's Main Library. Hereafter cited parenthetically in text, e.g., (C-W 527.) See Appendix 1.4 for a transcription of the letter.

Carmichael from using the word "Gael" in the English title, claiming that the word "in modern days has got associated with Clanna Nan Gael &c and other movements that it might be advisable to drop it." In a letter dated only a few days later (November 13, 1896), Henderson counsels Carmichael against including a Gaelic title at all: "a Highlander does not exist now who would not know English. . . . I fear it would hamper the sale." (C-W 527) He then offers yet another title: "Reliques of Celtic Poetry and Folklore being folk lays and incantations of the West Highlands."

About a week later (around November 23, 1896), Henderson again discusses the title, this time mentioning the Gaelic word, "ùrtha" which ends up being used in the published edition.

> Òrr, Òrtha is a good comprehensive title: but it is a loan from Latin, whereas òb is native. Perhaps the most general sense of Òrr is invocation and plural is ùrrthachan. Òrrtha might pass[?] as a contraction for it. Òrra also. . . . The title is not easy. It would scarcely include such as the Macintosh lament and the lyrics proper. (C-W 527)

Henderson revises this advice after speaking to Father Allan McDonald on a December visit to Eriskay. "The singular Òr' is short for Òra, ~~Òrtha~~, Òrtha and it would not be advisable to give as a title a form not grammatically unobjectionable." (C-W 528A) It is interesting that Carmichael persisted in using a questionable form in the Gaelic title. It seems that he was convinced that the form ùrtha was acceptable, perhaps based on his own knowledge and through informants. After criticizing Òrtha as a choice, Henderson adds a fifth title option for Carmichael to consider: "Lyra Gadelica." The use of the word "lyra" in the title does not appear to be very clear, since it is defined in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* as "of or belonging to the lyre; (of poems, poets) lyric." Only a few of the texts in the first two volumes of CG could be called lyric poetry, so this title is inappropriate.

Almost three years later, on September 2, 1899, Henderson writes to Carmichael at Airds Bay Cottage, Taynuilt, when the collection is at the proof stage. Their discourse about the title continues even then.

> I cannot make up my mind as to a title. Ora seems too short and uninspiring for a title. If I saw Leabhar nan Òrtha or Òr or else Ortha Nan Gaidheal (being Oral ~~Sacred~~ Religious Lyrics (?) and ~~Leechdom~~ Leechdoms of the Gael). or Folk Hymns and Leechdoms of the Gael.

(C-W 528A)

Then, in a philosophical moment which is rare for Henderson's letters, he waxes poetic:

> Possibly the sea or the hills may give you better suggestions. Alas that we can never again have the like of them, never I fear in the Highlands the spiritual material to produce them. But you or I need not regret too much as we shall not live for ever to miss them.

A letter from several months later (December 23, 1899; C-W 528A) reflects that Henderson's assistance continues with the final editing. Despite his active role in helping Carmichael with editing, he recommends that Carmichael cut the mention of his name in the preface. "In comparison with the contents, it is out of place to mention me." Carmichael does so anyway. At the end of the introduction of CG he mentions many people, he thanks Henderson last: "My dear friend Mr. George Henderson, M.A. Edin., Ph.D. Leipsic, B.Litt. Oxon., has helped and encouraged me throughout."

It is not until March 18, 1900, that the title *Carmina Gadelica* is mentioned in a letter. Henderson defends the use of Latin, saying the "phrase would be intelligible to a schoolboy." (C-W 528A) The *Oxford Latin Dictionary* defines the singular form, carmen, as "a solemn or ritual utterance, usually sung or chanted and in metrical form: a. a religious hymn. b. a magical chant, spell or incantation. c. an oracle or prophecy; a riddle. . . ." This primary definition of carmen seems to fit the material in the collection very well, although the word "prayer" is not used. These prayers **were** usually sung, and most **are** in metrical form. Henderson continues to defend the use of this suggestion: "Carmina Gadelica is handy for quotation and intelligible to all scholars and to the readers of your book. . . . It is comprehensive and inclusive of poem and incantation." In these modern days where Latin is no longer the lingua franca of the academic world, I would submit that it is less and less the case that all scholars, let alone a "schoolboy," would recognise the meaning of "Carmina Gadelica."

George Henderson was clearly instrumental in Carmichael's title choice. In the aforementioned letters, he discusses seven possible titles with Carmichael, six of

which Henderson suggests himself: 1) Òr agus Òb; 2) Leabhar Nan Òr; 3) Reliques of Celtic Poetry and Folklore; 4) Òrr / Òrtha; 5) Lyra Gadelica; 6) Ortha Nan Gaidheal; 7) Carmina Gadelica. It is the final proposal which is chosen, using the sixth recommendation as a Gaelic title.

It is also interesting to note the changes in the lengthy subtitle between the 1897 publicity piece and the final printed 1900 edition. Carmichael dropped the words "natural history," "mythology," and "ancient" (in describing customs). It is possible that the content of the collection changed from 1897 to 1900, and this accounts for the different descriptive subtitles. It is more likely, however, that Carmichael thought better about using these broad terms, and that "ancient" could accurately describe some of the customs, but not all.

"Orally collected in Gaelic throughout the Highlands and Islands of Scotland" in 1897 was changed to "Orally collected in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland" for 1900. Perhaps Carmichael was advised that there was no need to emphasize that the material was gathered **in Gaelic**, in case it might put off non-Gaelic-speakers. In fact, claiming that the material came from "**throughout**" the Highlands and Islands is misleading because Carmichael recorded most of the prayers in Volumes I and II in the Islands, and mostly from North Uist and southwards. Saying that the material was "**literally**" translated is also not as accurate as the changed 1900 version, because Carmichael's translations, while described by many people as very good and reflecting a certain poetic flair from the original, are not always **literal** in the sense of word-for-word translations.

The prominent title on the spine of the volumes in the first edition and in the more modern editions is "Ortha nan Gaidheal," with "Carmina Gadelica" below it in much smaller print. This is a very different emphasis than that suggested by Henderson, and the emphasis within the volume. The English title page is first, and is in a much larger, more artistic lay-out than the Gaelic title page which follows it. Perhaps Carmichael decided to give pride of place to the Gaelic title on the cover, since he was encouraged, if not coerced, to use the Latin phrase as the official title.

One more word about the Henderson letters: In a letter dated September 26,

1900, Henderson mentions that he should be able to write a notice for CG in *The Times*. He says this would be possible for the week after October 11, 1900, the date which Ella Carmichael gave him for the publication of the collection. I could find no book review of CG in *The Times* from September 1 to December 1, 1900. Perhaps *The Times* did not want to print a notice or review of CG because of the limited number of copies of the book (300), or because it was considered to have a very narrow audience. It could be that Henderson never wrote a review. John Lorne Campbell in his article about some of the Henderson-Carmichael correspondence, says that Henderson's last surviving letter to Carmichael (not dated) thanks him for sending reviews of the collection. "On 30 May 1901, Henderson was married unexpectedly, and from the Carmichaels' point of view unsuitably, in the parish church at Iffley, Oxfordshire. . . . From this time (May 1901) his intimate connection with the Carmichael family appears to have ceased."[28]

John Gregorson Campbell either had good connections in the literary world, or his book was considered to have a wider appeal than CG. There were both a notice (October 18, 1900, p. 2, col. 2) and a review (October 22, 1900, p. 2, col. 5) of his *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland* in the *Scotsman*. Also, there was a review of his book in the *Oban Times* on November 10, 1900 (p. 3, col.1). It is remarkable that these two collections of comparable, though not identical, material should be published so close together.

• Contents •

It may be helpful to describe the contents of the six volumes in order to get an overview of the collection. The contents will be listed using the category/section titles which are printed in CG rather than using my own at this time. Having already discussed the danger of forcing rigid divisions upon these compositions, it will suffice to repeat the caution that these divisions would probably not be ones the reciters would recognize.

Volume I (1928 edition): A portrait of Alexander Carmichael, a one-page preface to the second edition (1928) by Elizabeth Carmichael Watson, Table of

[28] J. L. Campbell, SGS 13, p. 216.

Contents, an 18-page introduction by Alexander Carmichael. 54 "Invocations" (including general prayers for protection; bathing; sleep; morning; house protecting; baptism; death; moon.) 26 regarding "Seasons" (Including Christmas; Hogmanay, Columba's Day; St. Bride's; Magnus; Beltane; St. Michael's; Lord's Day.) 40 concerning "Labour" (including kindling; smooring; grain: seed, reaping, parching, quern; livestock: milking, herding, hatching, marking lambs, sheering sheep; weaving; hunting; travelling; fishing; sea journey.)

Volume II (1928 edition): Table of Contents, 73 "Incantations" or "Charms" (preventative and curative of physical ailments and injury, and evil influence.) 22 "Miscellaneous" (concerning Christ, moon, omens, beetles, lullabies; concluding with a fragment.) 150 pages of Alexander Carmichael's glossary of Gaelic vocabulary. 8 pages of names, occupations etc. of reciters. End page has Gaelic and English translation of "Farewell." No doubt this text is a tribute to her father by Ella. The English reads:

> FAREWELL / THE FAIRY AND THE HUNTER / Fare thee well, brown hunter of the hill, farewell to thee for ever on this side of the mountain stream and the side beyond the river, the day I see thee and the day I see thee not, the day thou huntest the forest deer and the day, beloved one, thou huntest none. ALEXANDER CARMICHAEL (II, 383)

Volume III: A sketch of Ella Carmichael Watson, and dedication, "To E.C.C.W.," a two-page editor's note by James Carmichael Watson, Table of Contents, a four-page eulogy of Ella Carmichael Watson by the Rev. Donald Lamont. 5 concerning "Birth and Baptism." 14 "Morning Prayers" (including dressing, and protection). 16 "Prayers for Protection" (for self or others). 3 concerning "The Nativity." 11 "Supplication to the Saints" (including Mary, Michael, Brigit). 11 "Journey Prayers." 1 "Blessings"(35 short texts under one title). 4 "Invocation of the Graces." 14 "Good Wishes" (e.g., for good eye, "mother's blessing," etc.). 1 "Prayer before Confession." 1 concerning "The Cross of Christ" (protection). 3 "Peace of God." 2 "The Voice of Thunder." 13 "New Moon." 2 regarding "The Sun." 3 "Thanks for Food." 21 "Night Shielding" (protection; smooring; rest/sheep; house, etc.) 10 concerning "Death." End page tribute no doubt by James Carmichael

Watson:

> ALEXANDER CARMICHAEL AND HIS WIFE MARY FRANCES MACBEAN : THEIR DAUGHTER ELIZABETH CATHERINE CARMICHAEL AND HER SON ALEXANDER CARMICHAEL WATSON : THE SOULS OF THE RIGHTEOUS ARE IN THE HAND OF GOD AND THERE SHALL NO TORMENT TOUCH THEM : IN THE SIGHT OF THE UNWISE THEY SEEMED TO DIE : BUT THEY ARE IN PEACE (III, 397)

This is a quote from Wisdom 3.1-3, but the parts of verses two and three are omitted: "seemed to have died, and their departure was thought to be an affliction, [3] and their going from us to be their destruction; but they are at peace." (Revised Standard Version)

Volume IV : A four-page editor's note by James Carmichael Watson; Table of Contents; Donald Mackinnon's five-page and Kenneth MacLeod's 14-page eulogies of Alexander Carmichael; a five-page biographical sketch of Carmichael's wife, Mary Frances Macbean, by James Carmichael Watson. 17 concerning "Live Creatures." 4 "The Speech of Birds." 2 "Abundance of Seaweed." 1 "Fishing." 1 "Hag." 1 "The Sheiling." 20 concerning "Cattle-stock" (including driving the cows, protection of sheep, milking, butter churning). 6 concerning "Waulking." 1 "The Counting of the Shoemaking-Tools." 1 "Choice of Timber." 1 "Choice." 1 "The Farmer's Food and Footgear." 3 "St. Kilda Poetry." 12 concerning "Plants." 1 "Prayer Against Ill Report." 1 "Invocation for Justice." 1 "Success of Moot." 81 "Charms for Healing" (including evil eye, swollen breast, cancer, toothache, sprain, styes, warts, mote, chest seizure, consumption, epilepsy, bleeding, surfeit, bruise, spaul, etc.). 12 "Miscellaneous."

Volume V: A photograph of James Carmichael Watson; a dedication to his memory with a Gaelic text by Cathal Mac Muireadhaigh; a four-page editor's note by Angus Matheson; Table of Contents; a four-page eulogy by John Maclean and a two-page one by W. M. Calder for James Carmichael Watson. 13 "Waulking Songs." 1 "The Sweet Sorrow." 18 "Fairy Songs." 5 "MacLeod's Lullaby." 6 concerning "Fairies." 4 "Fairy Changeling." 3 "The Washing Woman." 4 "Augury." 1 "Mac Gille Chalum of Raasay." 2 "MacVurich." 25 "Miscellaneous" (including laments,

Hogmanay, Oisean, etc.).

Volume VI: A one paragraph preface by William Matheson; a one-page tribute to Angus Matheson by Derick Thomson. 5 pages of "Works Referred to and Abbreviations." 138 pages of "Gaelic Words and Expressions Collected by Alexander Carmichael." 21-page "Subject Index." 13-page "List of Motifs According to the Stith Thompson Classification." 14-page "Index of Persons." 13-page "Index of Places." 66-page "Glossarial Index" (Gaelic).

The verse texts of CG vary greatly in length, from a one-line blessing, to over 100 lines. Well over two-thirds of the texts are, however, between 8 and 24 lines long.

• CG gift book list •

According to a list in Carmichael's hand, when the first edition came out, he gave copies of it (some handmade, and some machine-made) to 31 friends, family members, and scholars.[29] Many of the names are members of his "circle" discussed in the previous chapter. Others are family members which can be found on the family tree. Some are illegible and/or unknown to me at this time. Sources of information in parenthesis: "M.A.C." is Michael Carmichael, "J.L.C." is the late John Lorne Campbell who wrote to me in response to my sending him a copy of this list. "C.G.S." is *Companion to Gaelic Scotland*, and "Carmichael's Circle" refers to that section in Chapter One of this thesis. "R.B." is Ronald Black.

Alexander Carmichael handwritten list from Carmichael-Watson Collection 528-B

"Friends to whom copies of Carmina have been given.

1) John Murdoch, Saltcoats B.l.[?]
[See Carmichael's Circle. Editor of "The Highlander" and father of Capt. Murdoch of the "Minna," the fishery cruiser (J.L.C.). The "B.l." [?] may refer to the binding, or boxed set? M.A.C. says he owns copies of Volumes I and II which are in a box lined with decorative paper and wrapped in linen.]

2) William Jolly, Blantyre B.l.
[Inspector of Schools for Inverness, was sympathetic towards Gaelic. (J.L.C.) One of his trips with AC is mentioned in a footnote in I,xx.]

3) Professor Mackinnon, Edinburgh B.l.
[Chair of Celtic, U. of E. etc. See Carmichael's Circle.]

[29] See Appendix 2.3, photocopy of handwritten list of people to whom copies of CG were given.

4) Archibald J. L. Campbell, Lochnell -----

[(1846-1913) First president of An Commun Gaidhealach. Wrote on highland dress, etc. Edited two notable collections of folk tales, and historical traditions. (C.G.S.)]

5) Rev. Archibald Macdonald, Kiltarlity B.l.

[Contributed to CG, see IV, 167. (1855-1948) Born in Harris, of Uist ancestry. Minister at Kiltarlity (parish in Inverness-shire). Highland genealogist, translator and Gaelic prose writer. Collaborated in A. and A. MacDonald 1896-1904, 1911, 1924. (C.G.S.)]

6) Rev. Angus Macdonald, Killearnan B.l.

[Rev. Dr. Angus John Macdonald, (1860-1932) From Benbecula. Minister at Killearnan (parish in Ross-shire). His manuscripts (the Killearnan papers), concerned with Gaelic lore and history, are among the Carmichael Papers in Edinburgh University Library. (Collaborated in A. and A. MacDonald 1896-1904, 1911, 1924.) (C.G.S.)]

7) Miss Jane Hay, Edinburgh -----

[A friend of Ada Goodrich Freer. Freer never travelled without another woman because of social custom. (J.L.C.) M.A.C. writes, "An old friend of the family, and godmother to Mary [AC's grand-daughter] in 1900. . . . Mary writes, 'an interesting woman, a spinster with pots of money which she put to good use, adopting 13 children from the Edinburgh Shelter and bringing them up as her family. For this she needed a big house which [M.A.C.'s] father planned and built for her.' "]

8) Laura, Almeria -----

[Laura Duke Carmichael, Carmichael's daughter-in-law, married to his son, Alexander—Alic. (M.A.C.) Almeria is a town in southern Spain where Alic was working. (J.L.C.)]

9) The Sinclairs, Glasgow -----

[In 1897, he was set to publish CG, as mentioned earlier in this chapter.]

10) Ella Handmade

[Carmichael's daughter, see Carmichael's Circle]

11) Eoghan B.l.

[Carmichael's son, there is another entry for a handmade copy to him in number 26.]

12) Mr. Blaikie B.l.

[Walter B. Blaikie, LL.D. Publisher, and friend of Fr. Allan who helped secure CG publication by his firm T. And A. Constable (see earlier in this chapter).]

13) Rev. Father Allan Macdonald, Eirisquay B.l.

[See Carmichael's Circle]

14) Catherine, Canada -----

[Unknown]

15) Mary, Do. [Ditto—Canada] -----

[Someone in Canada with the unknown Catherine? Not Laura's daughter, Carmichael's grand-daughter, born 1900 because she was not in Canada.]

16) Dr. George Henderson, Edinburgh B.l.
[See Carmichael's Circle.]

17) John Athel Lovegrove, London [?] -----
[Introduction to CG: "The letters have been prepared for the engraver with feeling and insight by Mr. John Athel Lovegrove, of H.M. Ordnance Survey." (I, xxxv)]

18) William D. Stewart, Edinburgh -----

19) John Matheson, Do.[Ditto—Edinburgh] -----
[?? (fl.1843) Native of North Uist. His biting satirical verses, such as 'Oran mu'n Eaglais,' were used as anti-Established Church propaganda following the Disruption. (C.G.S.)]

20) Professor Butcher, Do. [Ditto—Edinburgh] -----

21) Professor Taylor D.D., Do. [Ditto—Edinburgh] -----

22) The Queen (Handmade) (Isle of Wight) Hand.
[It appears he sent a copy to Queen Victoria who spent a good deal of time on the Isle of Wight.]

23) Dr. E. C. Gillis, London machine made
[Editor of *Placenames of Argyll,* and *Regimen Sanitatis.* From Sleat in Skye. (R. B.)]

24) John Mackay [?] " "[ditto—machine made]
[Could this be John MacKay who is mentioned in the introduction to John Murdoch's writings: "A crofter's son who came originally from Rogart in Sutherland, MacKay was a leading member of the Gaelic Society of London. He was also a civil engineer specialising in railway construction. As such, he was that rare phenomenon—a wealthy Gaelic-speaker."(Hunter, p.27)]

25) Mary (Handmade)
[Carmichael's wife.]

26) Eoghan (Handmade)
[Carmichael's son—see number 11 on this list which is not handmade. Inscriptions from both copies are quoted below.]

27) Alic Do. [handmade]
[Carmichael's son, Alexander.]

28) Iain Do. [handmade]
[Carmichael's son.]

29) John Henry Dixon Do. [handmade]
[Introduction of CG: "Mr. John Henry Dixon, Inveran, Lochmaree, offered to publish the work at his own expense. That I have not availed myself of his [xxxvi]

generous appreciation does not lessen my gratitude for Mr. Dixon's characteristic liberality." (I, xxxv-vi)]

30) Skeoch Cumming (Machine)
[Introduction to CG: "The portrait is the friendly work and generous gift of Mr. W. Skeoch Cumming, and is inserted at the request of friends outside my family." (I, xxxvi) This oil portrait in rich color now hangs in Michael and Nancy Carmichael's home in Fort William.]

31) D.P. Menzies [?], Glasgow " [ditto—machine made]
[There is a Jane Menzies mentioned in a letter from George Henderson to Carmichael, dated 26 Sept. 1900, p. 2 C-W 528A]."

There are no crofters on the list. Perhaps he did not give any reciters copies because almost all were not literate. Father Allan McDonald could, no doubt show residents of Eriskay and even Barra what the volumes looked like. His sending a copy to the Queen shows his desire to better the loves of the Highlander, not just the devotion of a loyal subject. It should also be noted that William Forbes Skene and John Stuart Blackie, mentioned previously as members of Carmichael's circle, died a few years before CG was published.

• Ella and Mary •

Michael A. Carmichael owns four of the sets of volumes mentioned above (numbers 10, 11, 25 and 26.) His cousin Mary who died in 1996 at age 95 passed on her mother Laura's copy to her son, Michael (number 8 above). The inscriptions on M.A.C.'s copies are tender, and illuminate Carmichael's relationship with his family. The inscriptions on two of the sets confirm that Carmichael's son Eoghan did receive two sets (numbers 11 and 26), one handmade and one machine made. Apparently the handmade editions were completed before the machine made ones (in August rather than October). The first inscription to Eoghan is in Gaelic—the only all-Gaelic inscription of the four in M.A.C.'s possession:

> Eoghain / Thoirim an leabhar seo duits an diugh 11th Ochdamh 1900. Tha mo gradh agad mar tha blath buan maireann taobh a bhos agus taobh thall na h-abhuinn, / t'Athair[30]
>
> [translation: Eoghan, I give this book to you today, 11 August, 1900. My love is with you already: warm, abiding, everlasting, on this and the other side of the river. Your Father.]

[30] See Appendix 2.4 for a photocopy of this Gaelic inscription to Eoghan.

The second is similar, only in English: "To You, / Eoghan Kenneth Carmichael / with the warm abiding love of your / Father. / 31st March 1900. / [in pencil:] 4th October 1900."[31] This confusing dating can be explained by the fact that Eoghan's birthday is 31 March. Clearly, Carmichael dated it as such for Eoghan, but penciled in the actual date upon which he gave it.

The inscription to Ella is also dated August: "To Ella Catherine Carmichael with the grateful thanks for her efficient help in bringing out this work and with the warm abiding love of her / Father. / 8th August 1900."[32] It is interesting that hers is not in Gaelic. Mary Carmichael did not have any Gaelic, yet the inscription to her contains a short Gaelic verse with translation. This copy is dated October, 1900. Perhaps it was Mary who made the handmade copies, and so Carmichael waited and gave her this copy when the machine made ones were published. This inscription is the longest, and most tender of the four:

> To thee, / Mary, / The gifted woman, / The devoted mother, / The perfect wife. // I, thy grateful husband, owe / more than words can tell. // Mo ghaol, mo ghaol mo ghaol fhein thu / Mo ghaol an diugh mar an de thu / Mo ghaol gach oidhche 's la dheireas / Mo ghaol air thalamh agus neimh thu. // My love, my love mine own love art thou / My love to-day as yesterday art thou / My love every ~~da~~ night and day that arise art thou / My love of earth and of heaven art thou. // Alexander. // 30th Oc. 1900[33]

As stated above, Volumes I and II of CG, edited and translated by Alexander Carmichael, were published in 1900 by T. and A. Constable of Edinburgh in a limited edition of 300 copies at about £3 3s per copy. Mary Frances Carmichael drew the ornamental Celtic letters which appear at the beginning of each Gaelic verse. Apparently they were drawn freehand from illuminated manuscripts. Eoghan Kenneth Carmichael must have inherited his mother's talent. Years later, in 1922, he published a short book on *The Elements of Celtic Art.*[34] The ornamental letters in Volume III (and probably the subsequent volumes) were drawn by Mr. Robert Burns. (III, viii)

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[31] See Appendix 2.5 for a photocopy of this inscription to Eoghan.

[32] See Appendix 2.6 for a photocopy of this inscription to Ella.

[33] See Appendix 2.7 for a photocopy of this inscription to Mary.

[34] Eoghan Kenneth Carmichael, *The Elements of Celtic Art* (Glasgow: An Comunn Gaidhealach, 1922.)

Carmichael's daughter Ella helped her father with the publication of this first edition, and in addition to other scholarly pursuits, edited the *Celtic Review* for many years. In 1928, she saw to the publication of a second edition which made the collection much more accessible to the public in price and quantity. She died just after its publication, to be followed shortly after by her mother in December that same year.

Thus, in 1928 the teenaged James Carmichael Watson (born 1910) lost his mother and grandmother. He includes a tribute to his mother in Volume III (xxi-xxiv) and one for his grandmother, Mary Frances MacBean Carmichael, in Volume IV (xli-xlv). In the piece on Mary, he quotes remarks about these two important women in the publication of CG:

> 'Dr. Carmichael,' writes Kenneth MacLeod, 'owed the fullness of his achievement to two women, the one his wife, the other his daughter. It was his daughter who really gave *Carmina Gadelica* to the world; and it was his wife who, first, by her good management made it possible for him to bear the financial strain of his adventure, and to wander about through Isles and mainland as the spirit moved him, and who, again, when the collected material was being arranged for publication, by her cultured ear and artistic hand added greatly to the beauty of the work.' (IV, xliv)

• James Carmichael Watson •

No doubt James Carmichael Watson (subsequently referred to as Carmichael Watson) was inspired by his mother Ella Carmichael Watson to edit and translate further material from Alexander Carmichael's extensive collection of notes. Carmichael Watson apparently had a great admiration for his grandfather who died when Watson was two years old, and for his grandfather's work. Carmichael Watson's name at birth was James Francis Watson, but after his brother Alexander Carmichael Watson died at age 15, James changed his middle name to Carmichael in honor of his brother and grandfather.

Carmichael Watson clearly began working on Carmichael's notes by 1938, because in an article in *Yorkshire Celtic Studies*, Volume 1 (1937-38), he presents material "hitherto unpublished" from "the collections of the late Alexander Carmichael, LL.D." and says: "there still remains enough material to fill two more volumes of similar size [to Volumes I and II], which it is hoped to publish before too

long."[35] In a letter to his cousin, Michael, Carmichael Watson writes in early 1940 (not dated):

> Since the 8th of this month, the day on which I started, I have typed out the text and trans. of 119 poems for Carmina vols. III and IV. There are about 500 in all, I roughly estimate. Some of them are extremely good. The publisher says there will be no question of paper or production being inferior to vols. I and II, second edition, which is something to be thankful for. I seem to do nothing but type morning noon and night. The other night on duty at HQ I was typing out one death-dirge after another at 4.30 a.m., a soul-searing experience[.] There are four handwritings and two typewritings to cope with, and the stuff is in a pretty state of disorder, having been lying about in boxes for years. Also it will be a nice problem to extricate what has already been printed.

As it happens, Carmichael Watson published just under 300 texts in Volumes III and IV, another 85 (plus variants) were published in Volume V. In another letter to Michael Carmichael, dated April 2, 1940, probably referring to Volume III, Carmichael Watson simply says "Book practically finished." Carmichael Watson was still a young man when while he was serving as Professor of Celtic at the University of Edinburgh, Volume III was published in 1940. He had the formal education which his grandfather, Alexander, lacked. Carmichael Watson received an M.A. in Classics with first class honors in 1932, followed by an M.A. in Celtic with first class honors in 1934, both from the University of Edinburgh. He then studied in Dublin and under Professor R. Thurneyson in Bonn.[36] He lectured at the University of Glasgow (1935-38), before succeeding his father, Professor William J. Watson, in the Celtic Chair at Edinburgh in 1938.

Despite James Carmichael Watson's superior formal education, he published the Gaelic texts virtually as he found them in Carmichael's manuscripts. In the editor's note of Volume III, Carmichael Watson states: "I say now without reserve that I have made as little change as possible." (III, vii) In his translating, he was guided by Carmichael's two volumes, but he did not strain "after mere verbal consistency." (III, vii) The manuscripts in the Carmichael-Watson Collection bear witness to this adherence to the Gaelic original, for very rarely is there any comment

[35] James Carmichael Watson, "Carmina Gadelica,"*Yorkshire Celtic Studies,* 1 (1937-38), 33.

[36] "Celtic Scholar, Edinburgh Professor Missing, Serving as Seaman," *The Scotsman*, 6 April 1942, (no page or column number—clipping from C-W 512.)

or editing by James Carmichael Watson other than "use" or "omit" in his handwriting on Carmichael's Gaelic manuscripts or hand copies.

Volume IV of CG was published in 1941. Carmichael Watson continued his fidelity to Carmichael's texts in his editing and translation. As stated above, Carmichael Watson admitted that he was printing some material which he thought his grandfather might not have considered appropriate for the CG collection. Carmichael Watson's first cousin (and Alexander Carmichael's grandson) Michael Carmichael, was very close to James. In a letter to the author, Michael Carmichael writes of Carmichael Watson: "During the war he was offered several chances to avoid active service—a Civil Service job, or to go to Dublin as a scholar and 'keep his ear to the ground'. . . ." Professor James Carmichael Watson refused these offers and joined active service in the Royal Navy in World War II in his 31st year, July of 1941. Michael Carmichael states that Carmichael Watson wrote to his father, Professor William J. Watson regarding his decision to volunteer for service in the Royal Navy:

> I hope you realize that I had to do this for two or three reasons. a) I am pretty sure that after the war a man in my position will have much more weight, and deserve it, with the younger generation if he has been in the thick of it than if he had sat quietly at home. b) I am sick of seeing people in my line scrounging cushy jobs. c) I couldn't stay out when almost all my friends were in, and the best of them killed.

Carmichael Watson survived the sinking in the Channel of H.M.S. Jaguar,. but was lost at sea in the Mediterranean on March 24, 1942, "two days before he was due to return to [the] U.K. for commissioning as an officer. . . . [H]e said— 'after all there are not many officers in the Med.[iterranean] who can speak French, German, Italian, Greek and Turkish!' "[37] In his last letter to Michael Carmichael, Carmichael Watson writes on March 22, 1942, two days before his death: "Nothing happening at moment; but you never can tell in the RN; but you can have your suspicions. To me personally the day after tomorrow is fateful. . . ."

• Volumes V and VI •

In publishing Volume V of CG in 1954, Angus Matheson continued the work which James Carmichael Watson had hoped to do, but whose untimely death

[37] The aforementioned letter from Michael A. Carmichael to the author, dated April, 1993.

prevented. Matheson, who was, in 1954, Lecturer in Celtic in the University of Glasgow, later became Professor of Celtic Languages and Literature in the same institution. In the editor's note of Volume IV, Carmichael Watson states that

> The matter yet to be published consists of a large body of prose and verse concerning fairies and other supernatural beings; some miscellaneous poetry; proverbs, riddles, and similar lore; notes on some hundreds of words; and (from the editor's hand) the indices. . . . (IV, vi)

Carmichael Watson believed that all this material would fit into one volume of similar size to Volumes I-IV, but Matheson found that there was enough for two, which are Volumes V and VI. Angus Matheson died in 1962, before he published Volume VI. He had virtually completed the volume, which contains Carmichael's notes on words, and various indices. Matheson's brother, William, found the manuscripts among the late Angus' papers, added the few final touches, and saw it published in 1971. The manuscripts for most, or virtually all, of Volumes IV, V, and VI are extant in the Carmichael-Watson Collection in the Special Collections of the University of Edinburgh Main Library.

• Popular use of *Carmina Gadelica* •

Since the fifth volume of CG was published in 1954, there have been several books published which used material from the collection. The first, and perhaps most important book came out in 1961. G. R. D. McLean produced new rhyming English translations of Carmichael's Gaelic texts. *Poems of the Western Highlanders*[38] contained his translations of Volumes I to IV (approximately 535 texts), and brought the collection to the public eye once more. This all-English edition was more accessible in price, and perhaps less intimidating for non-Gaelic speakers.

Two editions of selections from CG were published within ten years of McLean's in the United States and clearly showed their source. The first is entitled, *Celtic Invocations: Selections from Volume I of Carmina Gadelica by Alexander Carmichael* , and was published by Vineyard Books in 1977. The second was published in 1982 by The Seabury Press (which is related in some way to Vineyard Books): *Celtic Prayers: Selected by Avery Brooke from the collection of Alexander*

[38] G. R. D. McLean, *Poems of the Western Highlanders* (London: SPCK, 1961).

Carmichael with calligraphy by Laurel Casazza. All the texts in this collection are from Volume III of CG, and it was distributed in Britain by SPCK.

In 1988, selections from McLean's *Poems* were published under the title, *Praying with Highland Christians.*[39] This edition contains only 100 of McLean's original 535. The publisher explains that forming the "Praying with . . ." series meant certain choices had to be made. Some texts were omitted because they were too long, and "there were some enchanting animal poems, work songs and healing charms which, however delightful, have no place in a book of prayers."[40] Although it might be said that a few of the songs and animal poems are not prayers, this statement reveals a distinct bias against prayers for healing which they call "charms." It would appear that the "Praying with . . ." series limits itself to the kind of prayers which the **publishers** prefer, rather than being authentically representative of diverse aspects of the chosen tradition's prayer life. Martin Reith published a short book called *God in Our Midst,*[41] which takes for most of its contents, selections from McLean's translations.

It is unfortunate that in Floris Books' popular 1992 all-English edition of Volumes I through V of CG, all of Carmichaels notes, and many reciters' prose accounts are placed in the back of the volume. This makes it more difficult to access each introduction or explanation as the texts are read. Before Floris published their 1992 edition, they published two books of selections from CG*: The Sun Dances*[42] and *New Moon of the Seasons.*[43] Like the large volume, they thankfully give full credit to Carmichael as collector and editor. In some other books of selections, one must search the fine print to find Carmichael's name, leaving the careless reader with the impression that these texts come from "ancient manuscripts," or were gathered by the "selector."

Esther de Waal has done much to popularize CG, with several books of

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[39] G. R. D. McLean, *Praying with Highland Christians.* (London: Triangle (SPCK), 1988).

[40] McLean, 1988, p. xii.

[41] Martin Reith, *God in our Midst.* (London: Triangle (SPCK), 1975 and 1989).

[42] Alexander Carmichael, *The Sun Dances.* (Edinburgh: Floris Books, 1988 reprint of 1960 edition by The Christian Community Press, London).

[43] Alexander Carmichael, *New Moon of the Seasons.* (Edinburgh: Floris Books, 1986).

selections from it.[44] In a brief article in the American journal, *Weavings*,[45] de Waal discusses one of the prayers from CG, in looking at Celtic Christianity. Robert Van de Weyer's *Celtic Fire*[46] is a collection of texts from the Celtic tradition with introductions by the editor. Its acknowledgement of sources is highly inadequate and his introductions are often the worst of romanticism. Just recently, Oliver Davies and Fiona Bowie have published a collection of material from different centuries of Celtic Christianity.[47] Its introduction and attribution of sources has clear academic integrity. It will be interesting to see if this trustworthy source book will be as popular with the general reading public as some of the more suspicious collections.

The additional "filtering," and in some cases sanitizing, of prayers from the collection is a factor in many books with selections from CG. In addition to Carmichael's collecting only certain prayers, and his, Carmichael Watson's, and Matheson's deciding to publish certain ones from those collected, we are faced with yet another screen which distances the reader even further from seeing various sides of the tradition. Of course, pragmatically, there will be texts which will be of more interest to editors than others because they fit a theme which is being explored, or they seem particularly relevant to the readers. The danger lies in the editor implicitly implying or explicitly stating that these selections duly represent the diversity of the tradition— **this is** Celtic Christian Spirituality.

These kind of selections rarely mention the prayers which call upon God's power to heal and protect—prayers which have what some might call "magical" aspects to them. Nor do they explore the darker side of this tradition, which although Carmichael screens, had to exist along with the prayers for protection from curses, etc. The publication of selections from CG are very useful in leading readers to the entire collection (the writer first discovered CG this way.) Sometimes, however, they

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[44] Esther de Waal, *God Under My Roof* (Orleans, Massachusetts: Paraclete Press, 1984). *The Celtic Vision* (Petersham, Massachusetts: St. Bede's Publications, 1988). With A.M. Allchin, *Daily Readings from Prayers and Praises in the Celtic Tradition* (Springfield, Illinois: Templegate Publishers, 1987). She discusses Celtic Christianity in *A World Made Whole* (London: Fount Paperbacks, 1991.)

[45] Esther de Waal, "An All Embracing Love," *Weavings*, VIII (1992), 6-12.

[46] Robert Van de Weyer, *Celtic Fire* (New York: Doubleday, 1990).

[47] Oliver Davies and Fiona Bowie, *Celtic Christian Spirituality* (London: SPCK, 1995).

make claims about representing the **entire** tradition which are simply not true.

There are a few more recent publications containing references to CG that are worth mentioning at this time. Noel Dermot O'Donoghue's *The Mountain Behind the Mountain* contains a chapter called "The Presence of God in the *Carmina Gadelica*."[48] Noragh Jones focuses on the experience of women in *Power of Raven, Wisdom of Serpent: Celtic Women's Spirituality*.[49] She quotes from the all-English Floris edition, but is clear that the volumes were originally bilingual. In addition to the many CG texts which are quoted, the author comments on women's spiritual life then and now.

Ian Bradley's *The Celtic Way* mentions Carmichael and CG in an overview of Christianity in the Celtic areas of Britain from its beginnings to the present. Bradley is a minister in the Church of Scotland, and a lecturer in the Department of Theology and Church History in the University of Aberdeen.[50] Another clergy person who has written reflections on Celtic Christianity is David Adam. Adam is the Vicar of Holy Island (Lindisfarne) off the North coast of England. His very popular books are prayers and reflections inspired by Celtic texts, including CG.[51] In *Tides and Seasons: Modern prayers in the Celtic tradition*, he cites G. R. D. McLean's translations with no mention of Carmichael or the original volumes of CG themselves (could this be because Triangle/SPCK publishes Adam's books and the modern editions of G. R. D. McLean's book?)[52]

CG texts have also been used in liturgical resources. *The Iona Community Worship Book* contains "A Celtic Evening Liturgy" which employs adaptations from CG texts but it does not acknowledge the source.[53] For instance, the Affirmation is taken from verses of the long text, "Morning Prayer," (228; III, 41-47). To make this

[48] Noel Dermot O'Donoghue, *The Mountain Behind the Mountain* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1993), pp. 46-58.

[49] Noragh Jones, *Power of Raven, Wisdom of Serpent: Celtic Women's Spirituality* (Edinburgh: Floris Books, 1994.

[50] Ian Bradley, *The Celtic Way* (London: Darton, Longman, & Todd, 1993.)

[51] See Bibliography for list.

[52] David Adam, *Tides and Seasons: Modern prayers in the Celtic tradition* (London: Triangle, 1989).

[53] The Iona Community, *The Iona Community Worship Book* (Glasgow: Wild Goose Worship Group, 1991), pp. 54-56.

comparison clearer, here is the first of the four verses in the *Worship Book*:

> We believe, O God of all gods,
> That you are the eternal God of life,
> We believe, O God of all gods,
> That you are the eternal God of love.
> (*The Iona Community Worship Book*, p. 55.)

And here is the opening verse of CG's "Morning Prayer":

> I believe, O God of all gods,
> That Thou art the eternal Father of life;
> I believe, O God of all gods,
> That Thou art the eternal Father of love. (228; III, 41)

The Iona Community's *A Wee Worship Book* also uses recast versions of CG texts in two "Celtic" liturgies.[54] An example can be seen in the "Prayer" in "A Celtic Evening Liturgy" (not identical to the one in *The Iona Community Worship Book*). This is clearly an adaptation of the very first text in CG. The *Wee Worship Book* prayer reads:

> The knees of our heart we bow
> In the sight of God who created us,
> In the sight of the Son who died for us,
> In the sight of the Spirit who helps us,
> In friendship and affection.
>
> Through your own Son, O Maker of all,
> Grant us the fullness our lives long for:
>
> Love for God,
> Love from God
> The smile of God,
> The grace of God,
> The wisdom of God,
> The fear of God,
> The imagination of God,
> And God's purpose in all things.
>
> So may we live in this world
> As saints and angels do in heaven
>
> Each shadow and light,
> Each day and night,
> Each moment in kindness,
> Give us your Spirit.
> Amen.
> (*A Wee Worship Book*, pp. 37-8)

[54] The Iona Community, *A Wee Worship Book* (Glasgow: Wild Goose Publications, 1989), pp. 17-19 and 37-8.

Compare this with the full text of "Rune Before Prayer":

I am bending my knee
In the eye of the Father who created me,
In the eye of the Son who purchased me,
In the eye of the Spirit who cleansed me,
In friendship and affection.
Through Thine own Anointed One, O God,
Bestow upon us fullness in our need,
Love towards God,
The affection of God,
The smile of God,
The wisdom of God,
The grace of God,
The fear of God,
And the will of God
To do on the world of the Three,
As angels and saints
Do in heaven;
Each shade and light,
Each day and night,
Each time in kindness,
Give Thou us Thy Spirit.
(1; I, 3)

I have enjoyed participating in these worship services as a resident volunteer on Iona for six weeks. They are beautiful liturgies. It is disappointing, however, that the source for these rich prayers is not acknowledged in the books or in the services themselves. It is certain that CG would be even more popular among people today if they knew that these prayers were from CG.

• Numbering of the Texts •

When texts from CG are quoted in scholarly works, they are almost always cited by Volume number in Roman numerals, followed by the page number/s. This will be the case in this thesis. The page number will refer to the page of the English text (rather than the Gaelic text). Carmichael gave numbers to each text in Volumes I and II, and Carmichael Watson continued this practice in Volume III, but not in IV. I have continued this numbering system, giving a number to each entry which is given a separate page listing in the table of contents of each volume. Counted in this way, there are 603 texts in Volumes I to V of CG. (Text 277; III, 201-11 is actually a collection of 35 separate blessings, and there are also seven texts which have such

lengthy additional versions, or information about reciters, that I gave them sub-dividing decimal numbers, thus bringing the total number of verse texts in CG to 654.)[55] I will hereafter cite texts from CG internally in parenthesis, with the prayer number followed by a semi-colon, followed by the Volume and page number. If I am quoting from the notes which precede a text, I will put the word "notes" after the prayer number. Supplying the prayer number may prove to be helpful in the future because it seems unlikely that the full Gaelic and English six volume edition, which is out of print, will be published again by Scottish Academic Press. They are contemplating a three-volume "compacted" edition including the contents of all six original volumes.

It should be noted that the 1992 all-English edition of CG put out by Floris Press, begins using the prayer numbers as in the original CG volumes but then breaks away from the established pattern. The editor's note (p. 573) explains: "Numbering of the items corresponds to Alexander Carmichael's original sequence in Volumes I and II but departs from it in Volume III."[56]

• Reciters of *Carmina Gadelica* •

At the end of Volume II of CG, Carmichael lists a reciter's name, occupation, residence, and district for each one of the 216 prayers in Volumes I and II. In Volumes III, IV and V, James Carmichael Watson and Angus Matheson give a reciter's name and residence for some of the texts, between the title and the words. In Volume III, Watson provides reciters for 48 out of 135 texts (about 35 percent). In Volume IV, he gives 73 out of 174 (about 42 percent). And in Volume V, Angus Matheson follows a more modern approach citing variants and sometimes several reciters. He lists reciters for 39 out of 95 texts (41 percent). There are a total of 376 out of the 654 texts (including my sub-divisions) for which at least one reciter is

[55] 277.01-35; 491.1-8 (6 reciters); 533.1-2 (2 rec.); 541.1-2 (2 rec.); 551.1-2 (2 rec.); 555.1-3 (0 rec.); 556.1-4 (2 rec.); 574.1-3 (2 rec.); total additional sub-divisions: 51.

[56] The Floris 1992 edition does not assign a number to the following prayers (given in the numbering system which follows AC's pattern): 304, 355, 356, 358-364, 368, 375, 376, 377, 384, 398, 427, 428, 432, 447-460, 467, 476, 477, 485, 486, 487, 490, 492, 549, 559, 566, 569, 583, and 595 [47 total]. It assigns **two** numbered versions to: 385, 411, 420, 463, 491, 519, 533, 541, 551, and 555 [10 total]. As I said, in my numbering system, the total number of texts is 603. This should mean that their total is 603 - (47 - 10) = 566 numbered texts. It is.

given. This amounts to about 57 percent of the collection.

If, in fact, these names and residences are all authentic, this information is very helpful is getting a picture of the representation within the collection. Although one cannot say with one hundred percent certainty that because a reciter lived in an area known to be Roman Catholic or Protestant, that he/she was a follower of that tradition, some general impressions can be drawn from the demographics of the reciters listed.

Numbers of reciters and texts cited in *Carmina Gadelica*, by area.

Area or Place	**Number of Reciters**	**Texts**
Appin	2	2
Argyll (mainland)	2	7
Arisaig	3	3
Arran	1	1
BARRA	37	53
BENBECULA	32	60
Caithness	5	5
Coll	1	1
Edinburgh	3	6
Eigg	3	3
Gairloch	4	8
Harris	11	13
Inverness-shire	9	10
Lewis	5	8
Lismore	2	2
Lochaber	9	20
Lochalsh	2	4
Mull	1	8
NORTH UIST	28	34
Orkney	1	1
Ross	9	10
Saint Kilda	3	5
Skye	2	2
SOUTH UIST	63	91
Sutherland	8	10
Tiree	8	9
TOTAL FOR ALL OF CG	254	376

Numbers of *Carmina Gadelica* Reciters and Texts for Barra, Benbecula, North and South Uist

Place	Number of Reciters	Texts
BARRA		
Balnabodach	2	2
Berneray	2	2
Borve	4	6
Brevig	2	6
Castlebay	3	4
Earsary	2	2
Eoligarry	1	2
Fuiay	1	1
Grean (? "Glen")	2	2
Hellisay	1	1
Kentangaval	8	14
Ledaig	1	1
Mingulay	4	5
Pabbay	1	1
Sandray	1	1
Skalary	1	2
Vatersay	1	1
BARRA TOTAL	37	53
BENBECULA		
Aird	1	1
Balivanich	2	3
Creagorry	1	1
Dunganichy	3	6
Griminish	7	17
Hacklet	9	17
Liniclate	1	1
Muir or Aird	2	5
Nunton	1	1
Torlum	4	7
Wiay (? "Isle of Fuidhey, Ben.)	1	1
BENBECULA TOTAL	32	60

Place	Number of Reciters	Texts
NORTH UIST		
Baleloch	2	2
Baleshare	2	4
Balmartin	1	1
Balranald	1	1
Bayhead (?Schoolhouse)	1	1
Clachan-a-Luip	1	1
Garian (not O.S. spelling)	1	1

Griminish	1	1
Grimsay	1	1
Haskeir Islands	2	2
Hougharry	2	2
Locheport	2	2
Lochmaddy	3	5
Malaclete	2	4
Rucaidh (not O.S. spelling)	1	1
Saighidnis (not O.S. spelling)	1	1
Scolpaig	1	1
Tigharry	1	1
Trumisgarry	2	2
NORTH UIST TOTAL	28	34

Place	**Number of Reciters**	**Texts**
SOUTH UIST		
Aird Buidhe	1	2
Aird nan laogh (not O.S. sp.)	1	1
Ardmore	2	3
Ardnamonie	2	3
Bagh nam faoilean	1	1
Balgarva	2	2
Bualadubh	2	2
Carnan	3	5
Ceannlangavat (not O.S. sp.)	1	2
Clachan-reamhar	1	3
Drimsdale	1	1
Eilean Cuithe nam Fiadh	1	1
Eochar	6	6
Eriskay	2	3
Garrynamonie	3	3
Grogarry	1	2
Howmore	1	1
Kilpheder	1	1
Linique	2	5
Loch Eynort	1	1
Loch Skipport	1	2
North Boisdale	2	2
Oban na Buail'	1	1
Ru Melvick (? "South end..")	1	1
South Boisdale	4	6
South Lochboisdale	3	3
Stilligarry	5	10
Stoneybridge	10	16
Tiobarton (not O.S. spelling)	1	2
SOUTH UIST TOTAL	63	91

The total number of texts from Barra, Benbecula and South Uist (islands which are predominantly Roman Catholic) is 204. This represents over half of the texts where reciters are named and roughly one third of the entire collection. It is safe to say that at **least** one third, if not over half of this collection was gathered from Roman Catholic Christians living in the Highlands and Islands in the second half of the nineteenth century. It is more difficult to estimate the likely percentage of texts gathered from Protestants. The total for the predominantly Protestant islands of North Uist, Lewis and Harris is 55, which is 14 percent of the named texts, and nine percent of the whole collection. I will not argue from silence. At the very least, however, we can say that this collection is not a "Roman Catholic" one, though that tradition is highly represented. Carmichael says of Volumes I and II, "Although these compositions have been rescued chiefly among Roman Catholics and in the islands, they have been equally common among Protestants and on the mainland." (I, xxxiv) Incidentally, 85 (23 percent) of the named texts are from the mainland.

If the reciters listed are authentic, Carmichael's labor seems all the more remarkable. This is not a collection of hundreds of texts from a few reciters representing a few areas. It is unusual for Carmichael to have more than two texts listed from one reciter, and rare for there to be more than three or four reciters from one "village" or rural area. Of course, it cannot be asserted that the texts gathered are necessarily evenly representative of all belief in the Islands. The breadth of his work, however, and the amount of time and travel required to gather material from so many different people living in diverse, and often isolated areas is astounding.

Examining where the texts which furnish a reciter ("named" texts) came from gives an added dimension to understanding the content. In breaking down the reciter information by volume, it can be seen that Volume IV's named texts do **not** come mostly from Barra, Benbecula, and the Uists as the other volumes do. Perhaps Volume IV's content, mostly texts about animals, plants and healing, is the reason for the different origin of material. Or perhaps James Carmichael Watson was using material gathered at a different time by Carmichael, i.e., after he had moved from the Islands. Below is a brief breakdown of the named texts by volume and place, with

percentage of the named texts of each volume in parenthesis.

Volume	I & II	III	IV	V
Barra	26 (12%)	11 (23%)	7 (9%)	9 (23%)
South Uist	64 (30%)	10 (21%)	6 (8%)	11 (28%)
Benbecula	44 (20%)	7 (15%)	3 (4%)	6 (15%)
North Uist	31 (14%)	0 (0%)	2 (3%)	1 (3%)
Other	51 (24%)	20 (41%)	55 (76%)	12 (31%)
Total of named texts	216	48	73	39

• Parameters of this thesis •

It should be made clear that the text for this thesis is the English translation as printed in the published CG volumes. Although a Gaelic word might occasionally be pointed to for illustration or elaboration, it is for another person to do a philological analysis of the Gaelic texts and to discuss the quality of the translation, examining Carmichael's editing techniques. This thesis will examine the English texts as they are presented by Carmichael and the other editors, and what the texts say—as religious literature.

This collection, as large as it is, does not represent the entire breadth of religious experience within the Islands, let alone the Highlands as well. Carmichael collected a remarkable amount of material, but the reciters he came in contact with did not necessarily reflect all the aspects of belief at that time, nor did any one of them divulge all their prayers to Carmichael. These limitations are unavoidable, and Carmichael must have been an extremely charismatic person to have gathered as much as he did. Inevitably, however, the reciter will withhold certain prayers which he/she either holds too personal to share, or fears that even someone as appreciative as Carmichael might think "superstitious." Then there is the editing process, where Carmichael, Carmichael Watson, and Matheson choose from the material collected which texts they will print, and which versions. This is yet another 'screen' which sifts out certain prayers and shapes the form of the collection. These two factors (the reciter's decision to give one prayer versus another, and the editor's choosing of one prayer or version over another) are especially relevant with regard to the negative or darker prayers—the curses, and material about monsters, and evil "supernatural"

creatures. There are a few included in the collection, but if one looks at the number of charms **against** the evil eye, for instance, it seems clear that there must have been many charms for putting the evil eye **on** someone. There are a few manuscripts in the Carmichael-Watson Collection which relate to monsters, and what Carmichael rightly or wrongly describes as "devil worship," etc., which are not published in CG.[57] Also, there is a section about "Childhood" which almost made it to publication in Volume IV (some printer's proofs include them) but was cut at the last, a few are included in "Live Creatures" and in "Miscellaneous."[58]

Because of the limitations on the representative-ness of the texts, I will be very careful about making claims about "Celtic consciousness" or making generalizations about all Highland Christians at the turn of the century. The collection, although diverse, does not reflect in proportionate terms the multifarious Christian beliefs in Gaelic-speaking areas of Scotland of that time. Therefore, I will make claims about what this **collection** says, not what "the Gael" believed or believes. There may arise, however, general themes which seem to be distinctive, if not unique, in this collection which are supported by other material from Celtic Christianity. This may be helpful to discuss.

• Similar or Comparable Collections •

CG is a very distinctive collection because of the large amount of material printed in the six volumes, and the nature of the texts. There is, however, other material which is comparable in some ways to it. There are texts of prayers which Carmichael published before CG was released, and there are collections of material gathered by other folklorists or clergy. This thesis is not a comparative one, but some of the these collections are worth noting, and would make worthy subjects for comparative theses.

• Early Carmichael writings •

Carmichael published many articles in Celtic journals, and contributed short pieces to other people's books and articles. Many of these writings are not closely related to the texts in CG, but there are several which are early examples of

[57] See Carmichael-Watson Collection Items 493, and 494, Edinburgh University Main Library.

[58] See Carmichael-Watson Collection Items 498 and 502C, Edinburgh University Main Library.

Carmichael's long history as a collector of religious material.

Perhaps Carmichael's most significant early publication was his contribution to the report of what is usually referred to as the Napier Commission on Crofting. Carmichael has two pieces included in the appendix of the final report: a short paper on farming customs of the Outer Hebrides,[59] and a longer one entitled "Grazing and Agrestic Customs of the Outer Hebrides."[60] This second piece ends with eight verse texts in Gaelic and Carmichael's English "Close Translations." He gives a "Shealing Hymn," and then in a paragraph with the heading "Old Hymns," Carmichael tells of the dying out of the "old lore of the old Highland people."[61] And then he says:

> In his anxiety to rescue what he could of this unwritten literature of various kinds, the writer has sacrificed promotion several times offered to him. A few hymns from this mass of old lore are given in this paper at the desire of the noble Chairman of this Commission, Lord Napier and Ettrick.[62]

So, even though these "hymns" may not be essential to Carmichael's task of describing the agrestic customs of the Outer Hebrides, they are included at Napier's request. Carmichael includes a "Prayer on 'Smooring' the Fire," "The Bed Blessing," "The Herding Blessing," "Herding Rune," "The Milking Song," "The Milkmaid's Lullaby," and he ends with an uncharacteristic choice of a beautiful love poem/song called "The White Crest of the Wave." Why Carmichael concludes with this verse is unclear. It does not seem to relate to the others—it is not based on some activity or custom of the people. Perhaps Carmichael simply thought it was so beautiful that it was a worthwhile text to use in closing.

On Christmas Eve, 1888, Carmichael read a paper to the Gaelic Society of Glasgow entitled "Uist Old Hymns." The lecture was not printed in its entirety in the

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[59] Alexander A. Carmichael, "Statement by Mr. Alexander Carmichael as to Farming Customs in the Outer Hebrides," *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the Condition of the Crofters and Cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Neill and Co., 1884), Appendix A, item XLVIII, pp. 213-216.

[60] Alexander A. Carmichael, "Grazing and Agrestic Customs of the Outer Hebrides," *Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the Condition of the Crofters and Cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Neill and Co., 1884), Appendix A, item XCIX, pp. 451-482.

[61] Carmichael, *Crofters,* p. 473.

[62] Carmichael, *Crofters,* p. 473.

Society's Transactions because, "a collection of these Hymns will shortly be published."[63] (It was to be twelve years before the collection would be published.) The abbreviated paper was apparently printed in the newspapers (it does not say which ones), and was revised and extended by Carmichael before going into the *Transactions.* In the article, Carmichael gives eight prayers in Gaelic and in English. Four of these are virtually identical to texts in the Napier paper (smooring, bed blessing, "The Milkmaid of the Cows" = Napier "The Milking Song," and sheiling hymn.) The Gaelic spelling is a little less archaic in the later versions. Carmichael omits verses in the bed blessing which were not part of the first version he heard. Lastly, he does not repeat the last line of each verse of the sheiling hymn in the later version as he does in the Napier one. The other texts (those not repeated from Napier) are a rising prayer, a kindling blessing, a consecration of the seed, and invocation of the graces.

Other examples of early publication of prayers collected by Carmichael are seen in Alexander Stewart's books *Nether Lochaber* (1883), and *Twixt Ben Nevis and Glencoe* (1885.)[64] *Nether Lochaber* contains "A Healing Incantation for Diseases in Cattle" (pp. 202-3), a smooring blessing (pp. 219-20), a bed blessing (pp. 220-21), and a cattle blessing (p. 222) all contributed by "Mr. Carmichael of South Uist." The smooring, bed and cattle blessings are all close variants of the ones in Napier. These texts in Stewart are probably the earliest published examples of Carmichael's collection. They had to have been given to Stewart well before the publication date of the books, since they were first published as articles in the newspaper. It is clear that Carmichael was an important informant for Stewart. In *Twixt Ben Nevis and Glencoe*, Stewart says,

> . . . we once and for all hereby acknowledge and proclaim to all whom it may concern, that to our good friend, Mr. A. A. Carmichael, of Uist, we are, and for many years have been, largely indebted for natural history and antiquarian kindnesses of great value. . . .[65]

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[63] Alexander Carmichael, "Uist Old Hymns," *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Glasgow*, 1 (1887-1891), 34.

[64] Alexander Stewart, *Nether Lochaber* (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1883), and *Twixt Ben Nevis and Glencoe* (Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1885).

[65] Stewart, *Nether*, p. 67.

These natural history contributions are of less comparative interest than the religious material previously mentioned.

Carmichael published eight articles in *The Celtic Review* between its first volume in 1905 and his death in 1912. They are listed in the bibliography and include pieces of both historical and literary/linguistic interest. In 1905, Carmichael's only other book was published. Carmichael's treatment of oral sources in *Deirdre and the Lay of the Children of Uisne—Orally Collected in the Island of Barra and literally translated by Alexander Carmichael*[66] is discussed by Alan Bruford in a 1983 article in *Scottish Gaelic Studies.*[67]

• Macbain and Mackenzie •

Carmichael also contributed to two papers concerning Gaelic prayers presented by other scholars to the Gaelic Society of Inverness. The first, by Alexander Macbain, appeared in Volume XVII (1890-91) of *TGSI.* It is entitled "Gaelic Incantations," and contains 58 verse texts, mostly Scottish Gaelic but a few Latin, English, and Irish ones. (Only five of the texts are not translated into English.) Carmichael contributed four or five verse texts: smooring the fire (p. 232; same as earlier ones), consecrating the seed (p. 233; same one as in "Uist Old Hymns"), against the Evil Eye (pp. 238-39), perhaps a milking croon (p. 260), and repeats the piece published in *Nether Lochaber* for diseases in cattle (pp. 262-63). All the texts in the Macbain article are comparable to those in CG, and they are divided into thematic sections similar to Carmichael's: Introduction, I. Spells and Incantations, II. Evil Eye, III. Diseases of Men, IV. Toothache, V. Animals. Perhaps it should be said that **Carmichael's** thematic divisions resemble **Macbain's** since the article predates the publication of CG by at least ten years.

William Mackenzie concluded a paper for the Gaelic Society of Inverness entitled "Leaves from my Celtic Portfolio" (1879) with seven Gaelic Eòlais or, as he

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[66] Alexander A. Carmichael, *Deirdre and the Lay of the Children of Uisne—Orally Collected in the Island of Barra and literally translated by Alexander Carmichael* (Edinburgh, 1905; rpt. Inverness: Club Leabhar, 1972.)

[67] Alan Bruford, " 'Deirdre' and Alexander Carmichael's treatment of oral sources," *Scottish Gaelic Studies,* 14, Pt. 1 (Winter 1983), 1-24.

translates, "Highland spells."[68] He expands greatly on this initial collection in March, 1892. In his introduction to "Gaelic Incantations, Charms, and Blessings of the Hebrides," Mackenzie claims that while the occasional Gaelic "incantation" had been printed by writers, his 1879 paper was, to his knowledge, the first published **collection** of them.[69] This may be true, but a group of seven texts is rather short to be called a collection. Mackenzie's expansion, however, is indeed worthy of that appellation. It contains 95 verse texts (including some alternate versions, and a few Irish and Orcadian), 73 of which are translated into English. This paper of Mackenzie's is comprehensive enough to be quite helpful as a comparative with CG. Carmichael only contributed one text to this piece (a reprint of one in *Twixt Ben Nevis and Glencoe*), a Torannan (sacred plant) picking prayer (pp. 129-30.) So, most of this material is gathered by collectors other than Carmichael, from a similar geographical region, and in roughly the same time period as that of CG. This makes it a very good comparative work.

• Douglas Hyde •

Douglas Hyde's *The Religious Songs of Connacht* was published in 1906, and is closest in quality and quantity of content to CG. Douglas Hyde, the first president of independent Ireland, like Carmichael, was a Protestant who gathered "folklore" from many Roman Catholics. In the introduction of a modern edition of *The Religious Songs of Connacht*, Dominic Daly says of the material:

> These 'songs' faithfully reflect the traditional Irish attitude to life in all its aspects. They come from a people for whom active living faith was a positive factor of daily life. . . . For the men and women who recited them, prayer was not an occasional exercise; it was a state of mind.[70]

Hyde published his collection in a similar format to that of CG, with Irish Gaelic on one page, and Hyde's English translation on the facing page. There is no special arrangement of the material into themes or genres as in CG, and Hyde says

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[68] William Mackenzie, "Leaves from my Celtic Portfolio," *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness*, 8 (1878-79), 123.

[69] Mackenzie, 1892, p. 97.

[70] Douglas Hyde, *The Religious Songs of Connacht* (1906; rpt. Shannon: Irish University Press, 1972), p. (x).

that he has included **all** the "religious" material (even several curses) which he collected over a twenty year period. Hyde says he has included all of it so that the readers can make their own judgement. He rightly says that this judgement would not be possible if he had left out any material that was "coarse, bitter, foolish, half-Pagan, or otherwise unpleasing."[71]

Although, or perhaps because, Hyde's material was gathered in a similar time period but in Ireland rather than in the Scottish Highlands and Islands, it is an important comparative collection. There is much more narrative prose material in Hyde's collection than in CG. Hyde gives a short bilingual preface, and 240 texts (narrative stories, and verse) published in the two original volumes of Hyde's *Religious Songs*. Carmichael's two volume CG, published in 1900, consisted of 216 texts (almost all verse), a long introduction, and extensive notes. Of course, many other comparisons could be made, but again that is not the purpose of this thesis.

• Eleanor Hull •

Eleanor Hull was also an Irish contemporary of Carmichael's. Perhaps her most enduring contribution to the popular use of Gaelic poetry is her versification of "Be Thou My Vision" for use as a church hymn. Hull published a collection called *The Poem Book of the Gael*, in 1912 (the year Carmichael died). It takes for most of its sources manuscripts rather than oral tradition, so its texts are more datable than CG or Hyde's *Religious Songs*. There are many love poems in the collection, it does not claim to be a collection of religious material only. Hull says in her introduction:

> The deep religious feeling of the Celtic mind, with its far-stretching hands groping towards the mysterious and the infinite, comes out in these spontaneous and simple ejaculations; I have therefore endeavoured to bring together a few others to add to the groups gathered by Dr. Hyde in the west of Ireland and by Dr. Carmichael in the Western Hebrides; but in their original Gaelic they are the fruit of others' collections, not of my own.[72]

It is important to note that Hull viewed the religious material in her collection

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[71] Hyde, p. 9.

[72] Eleanor Hull, *The Poem Book of the Gael* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1912), pp. xxxvi-xxxvii. She credits in particular the collections of Dr. Michael Sheehan in Co. Waterford, and Mr. Fionan M'Collum and others' in West Kerry.

as a complement or addition to Carmichael's and Hyde's collections. She seems to have gone out of her way to get to know Carmichael. In a letter to Carmichael dated 26 September 1900, George Henderson says:

> Miss Hull is coming . . . at the end of September (the 29th), and she asks me if you are in Edinburgh as she is very anxious to make your acquaintance. She is writing a comprehensive work on The Celtic Churches in Britain. I know few ladies that have her critical gifts. I said you should be very glad to see her if she were near you.[73]

Carmichael must have met her at this, or subsequent time, because he is referred to as Hull's "old friend" in an obituary for him in the *Oban Times* dated June 22, 1912:

> Miss Eleanor Hull writes to the "The Athenaeum" on her old friend, Dr. Alexander Carmichael. "In him the simple dignity, the quiet persistence, the grit of the West Highlander, found its complete representative." She remembers his warm Highland welcome, given with outstretched hands, his douce, dignified figure, clad in the kilt, and his kindly serene face.

Even though communication and travel were more difficult at the turn of the century than now, the world was smaller in some ways. The Gaelic intelligentsia of Scotland seems to have maintained close ties with that of Ireland, and perhaps Germany as well.

• Ada Goodrich Freer •

A brief note on Ada Goodrich Freer who was younger than Carmichael, but knew him and worked with Fr. Allan McDonald.[74] Freer was commissioned by the Society for Psychical Research to investigate second sight from 1894-97.[75] In 1898, she published an article in *The Contemporary Review* called "Christian Legends of the Hebrides."[76] The 12 page article contains approximately 28 stories in English about the Holy Family in the Highlands and Islands—some might call them Apocryphal accounts. The stories are very much in keeping with CG material, e.g., the story of the cursed black beetle who betrayed Christ, and the blessed "sharded" beetle who

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[73] Carmichael-Watson Collection 528A, Edinburgh University Main Library, Special Collections.

[74] See John Lorne Campbell's *Strange Things* previously mentioned.

[75] J. L. Campbell in Thomson, p. 89.

[76] Ada Goodrich Freer, "Christian Legends in the Hebrides," *The Contemporary Review*, 74 (1898), 390-402.

lied to protect Christ hiding from Herod's men during the flight to Egypt.[77]

• Other collectors •

There are several books which are very different from CG in tone and content, but which are worth mentioning. They usually discuss beliefs which they call "superstitions" or "fairy belief," and they rarely contain much Gaelic. One such book, mentioned earlier in this chapter, was published in Scotland in 1900 in the same month as CG, and its title gives an accurate picture of the approach it takes to the content: *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland Collected Entirely from Oral Sources.* It is written almost entirely in English, in a narrative descriptive style rather than printing texts in verse as in CG, *Religious Songs of Connacht*, and *The Poem Book of the Gael.*

The collector and author is John Gregorson Campbell who was the minister of Tiree from 1861 to 1891. It is remarkable that this is virtually the identical period in which Carmichael was collecting from the Outer Hebrides. Campbell is actually listed as a contributor to CG. He apparently passed a prayer for healing on to Carmichael from an unnamed old man (183; II, 127—see II, 381 footnote 4.) Like Carmichael's collection, Campbell's material is arranged thematically. These genres include stories of incidents involving fairies, "Tutelary Beings," the Water Horse and other animals, premonitions, divination, and the devil.

The fact that the collector was a minister is bound to influence the collection of material. As stated, the very title gives away the attitude towards the beliefs reported, whether or not the **reciters** viewed the beliefs as superstitious is difficult to discern. Despite the title, and the vocation of the collector, the introduction is surprisingly meticulous. He discusses the care taken to use only oral sources which reflected popular belief, and his attempt to ensure that even if a great deal of the material was collected in Tiree, that it "has not been accepted without comparison with the same beliefs in other districts."[78]

Gregorson Campbell's book was preceded by many significant collections of

[77] Freer, p. 399 and CG 356; IV, 3.

[78] John Gregorson Campbell, *Superstitions of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland Collected Entirely from Oral Sources,* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1900), p. viii.

folk belief and customs. Some of the earliest of these were by two clergy of the late seventeenth early eighteenth centuries. The Rev. Robert Kirk's *A Short Treatise of the Scotish-Irish Charms and Spels* (1691) and his *The Secret Commonwealth* (1692) contain helpful references to practices present in Carmichael's CG. The *Treatise on Charms* especially contains comparable texts (in English or Latin rather than in Gaelic) of some "charms" for the falling evil, exorcism of cancer, a child's open head, and swollen spleen. Kirk mentions that there were "spells" for many other afflictions, but only provides the words used for a few. He says:

> THERE be charms for all common diseases from top to toe. . . . Most of them are in a way of prayer called orrtha [transliterated from Irish script], but said to be of more efficacy than any prayer now pronounced. . . . I will set down some of their more remarkable charms and Spells as they are usually writen and spocken, one in Latin another in Irish, which I translate, and give the rest, only interpreted, for Brevity's sake.[79]

The other late seventeenth/early eighteenth century manuscript which can inform analysis of CG is by the Rev. James Kirkwood (1650-1709). *A Collection of Highland Rites and Customes* includes brief descriptions of a wide range of Highland beliefs and practices which can be compared to practices described in CG. For instance, in discussing ploughing and harrowing the ground, Kirkwood mentions that the Highlanders "begin nothing without saying In the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost."[80] He notes the practice of lay baptism, saying "the Midwife or any one that can read, baptizeth dipping the child in cold water, naked with some Form of Words."[81] (cf. 50; I, 115, and 217-221; III, 2-23) Although this collection does not contain the verse texts of prayers, some of its descriptions are detailed enough to confirm some CG practices at least 200 years before its publication.

There are many nineteenth century collections of narrative descriptions of Highland beliefs and folk practices: *Darker Superstitions of Scotland* by J. G. Dalyell (Edinburgh: Waugh and Innes, 1834); *The Popular Superstitions and Festive*

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[79] Robert Kirk, *The Secret Commonwealth and A Short Treatise of Charms and Spels*, ed. Stewart Sanderson. (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer Ltd. and Rowman and Littlefield for The Folklore Society, 1976), p. 106 (MS p. 96) and p. 110 (MS p. 103).

[80] James Kirkwood, *A Collection of Highland Rites and Customes*, ed. John Lorne Campbell. (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer Ltd. and Rowman & Littlefield for the Folklore Society, 1975), p. 53.

[81] Kirkwood, p. 77.

Amusements of the Highlanders of Scotland by W. G. Stewart (London: Aylott and Jones, 1851); *Highland Superstitions* by Alexander MacGregor (Stirling: Eneas Mackay, 1922, first published in 1891); MacGregor's book was basically copied and condensed by J. P. MacLean in his *An Epitome of the Superstitions of the Highlanders of Scotland* (Franklin, Ohio: n.p., 1917.)

Carmichael contributed a section to W.Y. Evans-Wentz's book, *The Fairy-Faith in Celtic Countries.* Evans-Wentz enlisted scholars of the day to introduce sections on the "Taking of Evidence" from each of the six modern Celtic countries or areas. In addition to Carmichael's introduction on Scotland, Douglas Hyde wrote on Ireland, Sophia Morrison on the Isle of Man, John Rhys on Wales, Henry Jenner on Cornwall, and Anatole Le Braz on Brittany. Carmichael's section is basically a reprint of his account of how the fairies were believed to have come into existence printed in the notes of CG (II, 352 f.)

Evans-Wentz's book is an attempt to scrutinize "fairy-faith" in some kind of "scientific" way. He says:

> By the Celtic Fairy-Faith we mean that specialized form of belief in a spiritual realm inhabited by spiritual beings which has existed from prehistoric times until now in Ireland, Scotland, Isle of Man, Wales, Cornwall, Brittany, or other parts of the ancient empire of the Celts. . . . [Fairies] are natural and not supernatural, for nothing which exists can be supernatural; and therefore it is our duty to examine the Celtic Fairy races just as we examine any fact in the visible realm wherein we now live, whether it be a fact of chemistry, of physics, or of biology.[82]

Carmichael did not necessarily agree with Evans-Wentz's questionable premise and goal. It appears Carmichael was quite generous with his writing efforts, and the inclusion of his work does not mean a stamp of approval on the book's claims or conclusions. After examining survivals of "fairy-faith" in Celtic lands, and recorded "fairy-faith" in legend, and ways in which archaeology, "Paganism" and Christianity might shed light on it, Evans-Wentz attempts to draw conclusions based on "scientific" methods. On the final page in this long book, he says: "We conclude that the Otherworld of the Celts and their Doctrine of Re-birth accord thoroughly in their

[82] W. Y. Evans-Wentz, *The Fairy-Faith in Celtic Countries* (Oxford, 1911; rpt.Gerrards Cross: Colin Smythe Ltd., 1977), p. xxvi-vii.

essentials with modern science. . . ."[83]

Evans-Wentz gave a copy of the book to Carmichael about six months before Carmichael's death. The inscription Evans-Wentz writes to Carmichael describes his desire to be an advocate of the Celtic people:

> It is with a deep sense of gratitude for all the help you have so generously given me in the preparation of the The Fairy-Faith that I transmit this copy of it. I have tried to be a faithful scribe and an advocate for the Celtic people in sending forth to the world in this book their supreme thoughts about the great problems confronting humanity—the problems of birth, life, and death. And it is my earnest hope that they will think I have not been, in so doing, unfaithful to the trust they have [placed?] in me.[84]

There are several books which focus on specific elements which are in CG, such as the evil eye, proverbs, "hymns," and plants. R.C. MacLagan's *Evil Eye in the Western Highlands* is an excellent in depth examination of the evil eye. It has several accounts in Gaelic (with English translations), as well as usually including the Gaelic word or phrase which is central to that discussion. He looks at who has the evil eye; what it is; ways of preventing it; ways of curing it; discerning who has given it, and transferring it elsewhere. When he explores prevention "charms," MacLagan says, "A much more common protective is the sreang a chronachaidh, or snathainn cronachaidh (string or thread of hurting.)"[85] See Carmichael's notes on evil eye (140 notes; II, 42-3) and the line near the end of "Counteracting the Evil Eye": "And mayest thou be well for ever, / While this thread / Goes round thee, / In honour of God and of Jesus, / And of the Spirit of balm everlasting." (142; II, 51)

There are two collections of Gaelic proverbs worth noting. The first, Alexander Nicolson's *Gaelic Proverbs,* was published in 1881. Nicholson edited and added to a collection by The Rev. Donald Macintosh which was first published in 1785. Nicolson says near the end of his introduction:

> It now becomes me to mention those to whom I have been most indebted for their contributions to this collection, and their help in other ways. The largest and best collections were received from the Rev. J. G. Campbell of Tiree, and Mr. A. A. Carmichael, North Uist. Both came unasked, and were supplemented, as occasion required, by

[83] Evans-Wentz, p. 515.

[84] Carmichael-Watson Collection, item 531, Edinburgh University Library.

[85] R. C. MacLagan, *Evil Eye in the Western Highlands* (London: David Nutt, 1902), p. 141.

> illustrations out of the rich stores of Gaelic Folk-lore, Poetry, and Tradition, which both these gentlemen are ever ready generously to communicate to those interested in them.[86]

Since Carmichael appears to have contributed heavily to this collection, it is difficult to use it as a separate comparative source. Yet it is the largest collection of Gaelic proverbs of the time and, as such, is helpful. It gives a wide range of Gaelic proverbs with English translations and correlative proverbs from other cultures/languages. The texts are listed alphabetically by the first letter in the Gaelic proverb. In his occasional brief introductory notes to a text, Carmichael will sometimes give a proverbial saying related to the material, which could be compared with texts in Nicolson's collection.

Incidentally, the Edinburgh University Celtic Class Library has a copy of Nicolson's *Gaelic Proverbs* which contains the inscription: "Iain MacDonald Carmichael from his father with warm abiding love. // 7 St. Bernard's Row Edinburgh / 15 Aug. 1898." Clearly Carmichael thought enough of Nicolson's editing to give this 1881 copy to his son who was nearing 20 years of age.

The second collection of proverbs to which one could refer for comparative sayings is *The Campbell Collection of Gaelic Proverbs and Proverbial Sayings.* Duncan MacGregor Campbell (1854-1938) was a minister, missionary, and latterly a teacher, who collected folklore, and proverbs in particular. He gathered material at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. His collection, however, was not published until 1978, long after his death. Campbell's collection, as edited by Donald Meek and published by the Gaelic Society of Inverness, has 912 proverbs or proverbial sayings. Like Nicolson's collection, Campbell's proverbs are listed alphabetically by the first word in the Gaelic text. Meek says that a majority of Campbell's material comes from the Uists. He also states that Campbell provided manuscripts to Carmichael, though it is unclear if, or how much, Carmichael used Campbell material in the published CG.[87] As Meek says:

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[86] Nicolson, pp. xxxii-iii.

[87] Duncan MacGregor Campbell, *The Campbell Collection of Gaelic Proverbs and Proverbial Sayings*, ed. Donald E. Meek (Inverness: Gaelic Society of Inverness, 1978), pp. xxv-vi.

> [It] is important to emphasise that this was the era of composite collecting, when collectors made use of one another's material. . . . No moral questions seem to have been asked about borrowing of this kind, nor do they appear to have been necessary. Acknowledgements of contributions need not be too specific, and could be excluded altogether.[88]

This point relates to much of the Gaelic folklore material produced in Carmichael's time. It would be difficult to come up with a definitive bibliography of all of Carmichael's published material, because he seems to have been generous with it to those around him—and they shared with him. Some folklorists take greater care than others to cite references, and in these few instances we can get a better idea of the extent of Carmichael's contributions.

Two nineteenth century collections of "Gaelic Hymns" stand in stark contrast to CG. In 1888, a small book of *Songs and Hymns of the Scottish Highlands (with translations and music)* [89] was published in Edinburgh. It contains 36 "Sacred Songs" and 34 "Secular Songs" in Gaelic and English. Most of the "Sacred Songs" are composed by either P. Grant or Buchanan, and it is clear that the hymns in this book were for use in public worship. There is a version of "Mackintosh's Lament" in the "secular" section which varies quite heavily from the ones in CG (cf. 587; V, 347-53 and 588; V, 355-9).

Laoidhean Agus Dain Spioradail (Hymns and Spiritual Songs)[90] was published in 1894 and contains only Gaelic texts. It consists of 400 hymns directly translated from hymns in English, only 14 hymns which were composed in Gaelic, and 11 poems translated from English. The Gaelic hymns were almost all composed in the nineteenth century. One of them has 127 four-line verses. One wonders how such a hymn was intended to be used. In the preface, the editor thanks 12 clergy and two lay people for use of their Gaelic "productions," and Professor (Donald) MacKinnon for his suggestions and assistance.[91] This collection, gathered by the

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[88] Meek in D. M. Campbell, p. xxvi.

[89] L. MacBean, *Songs and Hymns of the Scottish Highlands (with translations and music)* (Edinburgh: MacLachlan and Stewart, 1888.)

[90] Archibald Kelly MacCallum, *Laoidhean Agus Dain Spioradail (Hymns and Spiritual Songs)* ed. Iain Whyte (Glasgow: Archibald Sinclair, 1894.)

[91] Whyte in MacCallum, pp. vi-vii.

Rev. Dr. MacCallum of Glasgow and published posthumously, is completely different from CG. It primarily provides Gaelic translations of well-known English texts. One supposes that such a collection may have been intended for the use of Gaelic-speaking congregations which might wish to sing something other than the Psalms.

As stated previously, this is not a comparative thesis. There may be times, however, when discussing a particular text or theme from CG, that material from these other collections may be used to elucidate a point.

• Conclusions •

In examining the process of the publication of CG, it emerges that the definition of "prayer" is important in approaching this collection. Carmichael and others grappled with the title and description of CG showing an uncertainty about the nature of the texts. When understood as "communication with God or divinity," a majority of the CG texts can be described as prayers. The long history of editing and publishing all six volumes of CG is an intriguing one, and helpful in understanding the contents of the collection. The popular use of CG in this century shows that a number of the texts still exhibit meaningful themes for the believer of today. Many of these publications of selections from CG do not give adequate acknowledgement of CG and Carmichael, and/or they screen out texts which show the full spectrum of the prayers in the entire collection. A brief examination of collections of similar material from the turn of the century shows that Carmichael's CG was not unique, yet it holds a scope and appreciation of the reciters' beliefs not always exhibited in other publications (e.g., of "superstitions").

CHAPTER THREE

IMMANENCE AND ARENAS OF EXPERIENCE

• Immanence and Transcendence •

The word immanence comes from the prefix "in-" and the Latin manere meaning "to remain." God is immanent in that God remains in the created universe. As creator of the universe, God is the ground of all existence, and is present in all of existence.[1] This omnipresence is a characteristic of the traditional understanding of the Judeo-Christian God. God is always present, or immanent, everywhere in the created universe, but not in the same way in all places. So, additional concepts are necessary in order to reflect the diversity of manifestations. The manner in which God's "ever-present omnipresence" **acts** is one way of distinguishing the nuances of God's immanence.

These levels of activity are qualitative rather than quantitative. An omnipresent God cannot be **more** present in some situations than others. Yet, God's presence can be active in different ways in certain contexts. To use a human metaphor, if a woman is sitting quietly in a room is she less present than if she is singing in the room? Certainly not. Her presence is manifesting itself in another way. If someone else is in the room, they will perceive her differently during the two activities. If a man walked by outside the room before, and then during, her singing, he might believe that she was not present in the room until she began to sing. It is often the human being's receptivity to God's activity which interprets God as being present or not, rather than perceiving God's enduring presence as acting in various fashions. God's activity is not limited to those acts which human beings perceive—just as the woman singing in

[1] A definition from E. C. Dewick: "The term 'immanence' ('remaining-in') is generally used of the indwelling of God in the universe at large, rather than of the indwelling of human souls in their bodies. It also usually denotes a permanent and essential indwelling, which is of the very nature of God, rather than a temporary indwelling due to a specific act of the Divine will." *The Indwelling God.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1938), p. 6.

the room would still be singing even if no other person were there to hear her.

These qualitative degrees of activity may be described in a spectrum. At one end of this spectrum might be total inactivity, but God's presence in the created universe is always active, even if that activity is subtle. So, at one end of this spectrum is the subtle yet sustaining activity of God in creation. The hand of the creator can be seen in the creation: "The heavens are telling the glory of God; / and the firmament proclaims his handiwork."[2] Paul writes of God's self-revelatory activity in creation saying that even those who have not heard the gospel have no excuse for wickedness:

> For what can be known about God is plain to them because God has shown it to them. Ever since the creation of the world his eternal power and divine nature, invisible though they are, have been understood and seen through the things he has made. (Rom. 1.19-20)

Next on this spectrum might be God's general providential activity for all creation (including humanity). God is not only present in the universe, but acts to nurture the world and its inhabitants. God's providential care is not limited to those people who are righteous in God's eyes: "For [God] makes his sun rise on the evil and on the good, and sends rain on the righteous and on the unrighteous." (Mt. 5.45) God's care for creation is not only for the benefit of human beings. God asks Job: "Who has cut a channel for the torrents of rain, and a way for the thunderbolt, to bring rain on a land where no one lives . . . ?" (Job 38.25-26) Earlier in the book of Job, Job recognizes that even the plants and animals know that God is 'in charge' of all the universe:

> But ask the animals, and they will teach you; the birds of the air, and they will tell you; ask the plants of the earth, and they will teach you; and the fish of the sea will declare to you. Who among all these does not know that the hand of the Lord has done this? In his hand is the life of every living thing and the breath of every human being. (Job 12.7-10)

While Job claims that even plants and animals know God's omnipotent direction is guiding everything, he asserts that he cannot find (and experience) God. He says: "Oh, that I knew where I might find him, that I might come even to his dwelling! . . . If I go forward, he is not there; or backward, I cannot perceive him; and on the left

[2] Ps. 19.1 (New Revised Standard Version). All scriptural references hereafter cited parenthetically within text, from the N.R.S.V. unless otherwise noted.

he hides, and I cannot behold him, I turn to the right, but I cannot see him." (Job 23.3 and 8) This statement by Job seems to contradict the idea of God's immanence. For what kind of immanence is there if one cannot experience it? The scripture passage often quoted in discussions of God's providential immanence is from Psalm 139 (verses 7 to 10):

> Where can I go from your spirit? Or where can I flee from your presence? If I ascend to heaven, you are there; if I make my bed in Sheol, you are there. If I take the wings of the morning and settle at the farthest limits of the sea, even there your hand shall lead me, and your right hand shall hold me fast.

In this passage, the believer senses or experiences God's presence everywhere, even in Sheol, and in darkness (v.11-12.) Yet the account of Job does not end with Job's frustration at not experiencing God. His God, omnipotent and transcendent, finally comes to him. The God who overwhelms Job with questions from the whirlwind which imply human insignificance when faced with God's supreme activity is the same God who deigns to address Job. This God who cares for its creation is concerned enough with humanity to come to Job and address him, and to vindicate him in the eyes of his accusing 'friends' who speak falsely of God. (Job 42.7) Job's questioning of his 'affliction' is answered to his satisfaction by this encounter with God. He says: "I had heard of you by the hearing of the ear, but now my eye sees you; therefore I despise myself, and repent in dust and ashes." (Job 42.5-6)

This leads us to another quality of God's activity in the spectrum: God's special providence for 'chosen' individuals or peoples—Heilsgeschichte (salvation history). Throughout time, God and human beings have encountered each other in many ways and situations. The scriptures of the Old and New Testaments are a record of some of these encounters. Some people have sought God, and God has sought some people. God has been described in many forms in such encounters: Adam and Eve heard the "sound of the Lord God walking in the garden . . . " (Gen. 3.8); Moses hid his face before the burning bush (Ex. 3.2); the Children of Israel were guided by a pillar of cloud by day and one of fire by night (Ex. 13.21); Elijah went through wind, earthquake and fire before encountering God in "a sound of sheer silence . . . " (1 Kings 19.12); King Belshazzar saw the hand writing on the wall (Dan. 5.5); John the

Baptist "saw the Spirit of God descending like a dove and alighting on . . . " Jesus (Mt. 3.16); the Apostles were visited by tongues as of fire (Acts 2.3).

Sometimes an agent of God's presence is used to meet human beings, usually an angel in human form. Jacob wrestled with a man until dawn (Gen. 32.34 f.); an angel named Gabriel visited Mary (Lk. 1.26); Mary Magdalene, Joanna, Mary the mother of James and other women were told by "two men in dazzling clothes" that Jesus had risen from the dead (Lk. 24.4). Of course, scripture contains accounts of God coming to individuals in dreams and visions, and of God speaking through human beings. These scriptural encounters between God and humanity are for many reasons. God's providential action is described as guiding, chastising, protecting, blessing, answering, informing, or 'dealing' with human beings. There are countless depictions outside the Bible of Christians' encounters with the Divine. These often use images and forms present in scripture, but some describe experiences in new ways.

At the other end of the spectrum of God's activity from the subtle sustaining presence of God in creation, is the special activity of the incarnation of God in Jesus the Christ. The incarnation is the ultimate example of God immanent in the created world. "And the Word became flesh and lived among us, and we have seen his glory. . . ." (Jn. 1.14) The Incarnate God communicates to humanity the loving, forgiving relationship God desires with us. By taking human form, God leaves no question that through the coming of "'Emmanuel,' . . . 'God is with us.'" (Mt. 1.23 b.) God's presence did not "leave" in the ascension, the **quality** of presence changed but did not diminish. The bodily presence of God in Jesus became the embodied presence of God in the Church. Paul writes to the church in Corinth: "[T]here are varieties of activities, but it is the same God who activates all of them in everyone. To each is given the manifestation of the Spirit for the common good." (1 Cor. 12.6-7.)

Whatever the quality of God's presence—whether active subtly or in clearer ways—human beings usually must be receptive to some degree in order to experience an encounter with God's presence. There were many who did not recognise God in Jesus, and many see a majestic sunset and feel no connection with their creator. On

the other hand, there are many individuals who experience a sense of God's presence in ordinary activities of the day, in addition to those moments in liturgy traditionally associated with communion with God. So, every point on the qualitative spectrum of God's activity is a possible arena for encounter with the immanent God. The nature of the encounter will depend upon the receptivity of the person, but is always based upon God's free action.

The word 'transcend' comes from the prefix 'trans-' (beyond), and the Latin 'scandere,' meaning to climb. OED defines 'transcend': "be beyond the range or grasp of (human experience, reason, belief, etc.)." God is transcendent in that God will always be greater than humanity's comprehension. This 'beyond-ness' is not a physical location outside the universe as we know it. It is rather **limitless** being, not confined to humanity's limited perception of time and space, or to God's **activity** in any or all forms of presence in the universe.

The *Oxford English Dictionary* lists 'immanent' as the opposite of 'transcendent.' This falsely implies that one being (God) could not be at once both transcendent and immanent. In fact, the two aspects are complementary, and in many ways necessary for each other. The Judeo-Christian God is present in the created universe, and reveals the God-self to humanity in many ways (a few of which are mentioned above.) Yet, unlike Pantheism where the immanent God is contained in the universe, the Judeo-Christian God is greater than that which humanity encounters, or could fully comprehend. "For as the heavens are higher than the earth, / so are my ways higher than your ways / and my thoughts than your thoughts." (Is. 55.9)

Both immanence and transcendence are essential characteristics of the Judeo-Christian God. If God were totally immanent, then God would be confined to the knowable, created world. The creator would be limited to, even identical with, its creation. If God were totally transcendent, then there would be no way of knowing anything about God, let alone would this God become incarnate, or encounter human beings in any manner.[3]

[3] In exploring transcendence and immanence, part of E.C. Dewick's book previously mentioned was helpful.

Frederic Platt begins his book, *Immanence and Christian Thought*, with the following quote from an unnamed "ancient Latin hymn": "Intra cuncta, nec inclusus, / Extra cuncta, nec exclusus. . . ."[4] He translates: "God is immanent in the universe, but not shut up in it; [God] transcends it, but is not shut out from it."[5]

• Arenas in which God is experienced in CG •

> In my own time, and before we were put out of Ben More, there was much of old lore and old customs and old ways of thought among the old people—prayers and charms, songs and hymns, tales and music and dancing from Monday to Sunday. Whatever the people might be doing, or whatever engaged in, there would be a tune of music in their mouth. When they would arise in the morning—and Mary mild, early-rising and early astir were the people of that day!—there could always be heard a man here and a woman there, a lad yonder and a maiden at hand, with a cheerful strain of music in the mouth of each; whether they would be shaking corn in the kiln or feeding cattle in the byre, fetching in a stoup of water or bringing home a creel of peat, from each one's mouth came his own croon. (227; III, 35)

It could be said that **all** direct prayer to God appeals to God's active presence, because prayer implies an assumption that someone is there to listen and respond. Assuming this, the range of prayers for everyday life in CG implies that God was experienced as immanent in virtually all areas of life for the reciters of CG. Space, time, work, and nature are all spheres for God's active presence. Many of the prayers and traditions in CG reflect some ways in which these spheres are/were consciously employed as arenas of God's active presence.

• Space as an arena of God's active presence •

The most obvious sphere in which God is experienced is place. One's physical surroundings play a significant role in one's beliefs. In examining the role of place as an arena of the experience of God in the texts of CG, the folkloric material mentioned in the narrative descriptions and notes is crucial. Many of the beliefs, actions, and rituals surrounding the role of place (and most of the other arenas discussed below) are informed by folkloric stories. There are accounts of Biblical characters, and of saints which lie behind some beliefs and practices. Through these accounts, the world

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[4] Frederic Platt, *Immanence and Christian Thought* (London: Charles H. Kelly, 1915), p. 1.

[5] Platt, p. 1.

of scripture is brought to life in the believer's world. The Holy Family sought hospitality at crofts, Jesus slept under the corn in a barn. Plants, animals and even insects of the Highlands and Islands are incorporated into these stories, making the Biblical characters (almost always New Testament figures) live and breathe in the habitat of the believers. There are accounts of saints which show the saint interacting with Biblical characters (Brigit becomes Christ's foster-mother), or helping ordinary people with their needs (Columba heals a widow's cow.) These folkloric accounts make Christianity more accessible and informative to the believers who live in a place quite different from the scriptural locations in the Middle East.

• The house •

The lifestyle of the majority of the reciters of CG was one of subsistence farming. They did not own the land on which they lived and worked. Most were tenants, and in many cases, sub-tenants, or sub-sub-tenants who rented from people who did not own the land, but were tenants or "tacksmen" themselves. Although some crofts stayed in families for generations, before the Crofters' Act of 1886, crofting tenants or sub-tenants had almost no rights concerning the possession of the land.

Is don an gabhalach,	Bad is the tenancy,
Ach tha don an donuis	But the evilness of the evil one
Anns an ath-ghabhalach.	Is in the sub-tenancy.

> In many extensive districts cleared of people the proprietor was able to say that he never had crofters in these places. This was true in word but not in spirit, the crofters having been the sub-tenants, or the sub-sub-tenants, of the proprietor's tenant. (II, 244)

Perhaps these insecure tenancy arrangements contributed to the emphasis on the house as a place of spiritual and physical refuge. Although s/he did not own the land, a crofter usually owned the house in which the family lived. Of course, if the crofters were evicted, they would be hard pressed to take the house with them! Nevertheless, CG contains numerous texts in which the dwelling is seen as a kind of sanctuary from harm.[6] Some of these texts only mention the house itself in passing, focusing more

[6] There are about 15 texts which specifically mention the house and the household: 43-45; I, 101-5. 55; I, 127. 57; I, 135. 61; I, 145. 84-86; I, 235-239. 298; III, 265. 325; III, 325. 337-8; III, 355-357. 340-1; III, 361-367.

on the members of the household. Several texts, however, include blessings of the dwelling structure itself. The shortest of these is a "Blessing of House": "God bless the house, / From site to stay, / From beam to wall, / From end to end, / From ridge to basement, / From balk to roof-tree, / From found to summit, / Found and summit." (45; I, 105) A longer house blessing, requests blessing from God and saints on: "Both crest and frame, / Both stone and beam; / Both clay and wattle, // [363] Both summit and foundation; // Both window and timber, / Both foot and head. . . ." (340; III, 361-3)

Two other house blessing texts of particular note are both sung at Christmas. The first, 55; I, 127, contains a similar blessing to the two texts mentioned above in the first section, and only in the second part moves to an emphasis on the birth of Christ. The second text, 57; I, 135, is almost entirely a house blessing with only the chorus greeting and blessing the 'King.' The line, "Be ye in lasting possession of the house. . . . " is particularly poignant considering the countless evictions. In these blessings, the very walls and roof are being lifted up for God's protection. Yet, the blessings are not for the house in itself, they are for the house as the sanctuary of those who live within it. The people who dwell in the house are virtually always mentioned (except in 45; I, 105). The house is pictured as a place which, through God's protection, is one of safety for those who live within. "Deliver it to God from pall to cover, / Be the healing of men therein. . . . / [137] Offer to the Being from found to cover. . . ." (57; I, 135-137) It is **God's** providential action which will make the dwelling a refuge from harm.

• Journeys •

When a member of the household leaves home to go on a journey, a prayer is said for, or by, the one who is going. There is a sense that God's protection needs to be invoked when a believer departs his/her home area. Volume I of CG contains a travelling prayer/hymn sung by "a pilgrim in setting out on his pilgrimage. The family and friends joined the traveller in singing the hymn and starting the journey, from which too frequently, for various causes, he never returned." (116 notes ; I, 316) In the verse text, the traveller invokes the "love Christ Jesus gave" in the hearts of those

s/he meets, and in his/her own heart.

Volume I also has four prayers/hymns for ocean journeys (118-121; I, 325-333). Again, God's protection is invoked, this time upon the boat and its crew. The boat's structure, like the house, is prayed for: "Bless our anchors and our oars, / Each stay and halyard and traveller, / Our mainsails to our tall masts / Keep, O King of the elements, in their place. . . ." (118; I, 325) The scriptural references in two of these prayers (119 and 120; I, 329-331) are clear allusions to God's providential care of people on or near water in the Bible. In 119; I, 329, the text mentions the Children of Israel being brought through the Red Sea, Jonah from the belly of the "great creature of the ocean," and Paul and shipmates from the torment of the sea. Only a fragment of the verse about the storm on the Sea of Galilee remains, but it must be a reference to Christ's calming of the sea. It seems that these affirmations or even invocations of God's activity in the **past** attest to the faith of the pray-ers that just as God protected figures in scripture, God will protect them on **their** journey.

The other main group of prayers for journeys are in Volume III (266-276; III, 171-197). A number of these texts are fairly general blessings or requests for God's protection. The notes for 270; III, 178 and 271; III, 181 tell of the reciter, Dugall MacAulay's use of the prayers. The first says "that he always crooned this little hymn to himself when leaving his house upon an errand of whatever kind, and that he always derived comfort from it." The second, he apparently recited under his breath "when he went upon a journey, however short the distance, however small the matter of his errand." Both prayers ask God to bless the path of the journey, and the pray-er's life and purposes. From the notes, it would appear that one of these texts was used for any outing and the other for journeys, even if short.

In addition to these prayers for protection when leaving the house, there is the protective object called the "Gospel of Christ." This consisted of a piece of paper or parchment with a word, phrase or verse from the Gospels written on it. "The script was placed in a small bag of linen and sewn into the waistcoat of a man and the bodice of a woman, under the left arm." (272; III, 182) This was a protective against drowning at sea and disaster on land, but also against "evil eye, evil wish, evil

influences, against the wrongs and oppressions of man and the wiles and witcheries of woman, against being lifted by the hosts of the air, and against being waylaid by the fairies of the mound." (272 notes; III, 182) The "Gospel" will be discussed further in Chapter Four.

One gets the feeling from these journey prayers that the pray-er sees it as essential that he or she make a conscious effort to invoke God's protection on each individual occasion, in addition to the on-going prayers through objects such as the "Gospel of Christ." There is the implication that if one fails to do so, that it will be no surprise if bad things happen. This is an example of a partnership with God. The responsibility of each believer to be aware of the needs of their life and their loved ones, and the right and privilege to ask God for help. If you don't ask, you probably won't receive. To love and trust God is not enough, one must ask or invoke God's assistance.

• Making the caim •

One very concrete way of invoking God's protective presence is the caim, or compassing. This was the practice of drawing an imaginary circle around oneself when in times of fear or danger. It is the creating of a sanctuary around oneself to ward off evil and harm. In the notes in Volume II, Carmichael discusses this practice, and says it was not just Roman Catholics or 'illiterates' who believed in the power of the caim, but he was told by a "distinguished scholar and rigid Protestant" that he "often found himself unconsciously making the 'caim.' " (II, 240) Nor were clergy apparently averse to its use. Carmichael recounts a story of a young woman encountering a 'water-horse' who made her promise to meet her again. The priest was told of the rendezvous, and he surmised it was the "devil with his lures." He went with the girl, "and the priest took the Book, and made the 'caim' in Name of the Sacred Three, and of the sanctified saints, and of the sinless angels." (II, 241) When the creature arrived, it was unable to get near the girl and the priest because of the caim, and eventually fled in defeat.

The last verse text of CG is "The Finger-Compassing" (603; V, 403). Although there are no explanatory notes, it seems that this is an example of what might be said

in making the caim. Only eight lines long, it takes the form of questions and answer:[7]

> Who is before me? / Who is behind me? / Who is beneath me? / God and the Lord. // Who upholds me? / The Three of power, / Father and Son / And Spirit of peace. (603; V, 403)

So, in this case, it is God, the Lord, and the Trinity which are invoked to surround and protect the pray-er. It is as if an invisible shield is being requested to be placed around the believer by God. Present in this text and in the tradition of making the caim are echoes of the great Irish lorica tradition, of which, "St. Patrick's Breastplate," is probably the most famous example. These 'breastplates' invoke the power of God and of the elements as a shield.

In addition to the texts for, and references to, the act of making the caim, there are more general requests for God, the saints or angels to encompass, circle, enfold (or similar language) the pray-er. There are approximately 47 such texts in CG.[8] The Gaelic originals of these texts usually, but not always, use a form of the Gaelic word 'caim.' So, even though there are only a few references to the specific ritual of making the caim in CG, many prayers contain petitions for God/saints/angels to encompass the pray-er, a loved-one, or livestock.

The creation of a hoop made of plants to protect milk (e.g., II, 319), and the use of thread to surround an injured or ill person or animal (e.g., 432 notes; IV, 166-9) may be extensions of this compassing tradition. The believer is using the circle of wood or thread literally or metaphorically to surround the object of the prayer. This is another way to physicalize the prayer for God's protective, shielding presence. The believer is again acting in cooperation with God—assisting the process. Carmichael quotes an account of the use of string in healing from the records of the Presbytery of Kintyre and Islay dated 11 November 1697, and then gives a rendering of the words probably used:

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[7] This questioning with the answer, God, is reminiscent of "The Mystery" attributed to Amergin who supposedly lived before Christ. Rather than the pray-er's voice, this text is spoken by God. The last few lines: "I am the God who created in the head the fire. / Who is it who throws light into the meeting on the mountain? / Who announces the ages of the moon? / Who teaches the place where couches the sun? / (If not I)" Translated by Douglas Hyde in: Patrick Murray, ed., *The Deer's Cry: A Treasury of Irish Religious Verse* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1986), p. 15.

[8] See Appendix 3.1 for a list of 47 "compassing" texts.

> I place the protection of God about thee, / . . . Mayest thou be shielded from every peril; / May the Gospel of the God of grace / Be from thy crown to the ground about thee. / May men love thee / And women not work thee harm. (432; IV, 167)

• Thresholds of power •

Some places are mentioned in CG as special because of their natural characteristics. They are seen as particularly powerful, and are used to contribute to the efficacy of various important prayers. An example of this is described in the notes to two of the texts for the "Invocation for Justice." (20 notes; I, 52-3, and 424 notes; IV, 145) The pray-er must go at sunrise to a place where three streams (in 424, they must be boundary streams) meet to bathe his/her face in the name of the Trinity. Carmichael gives an interpretation of these places and actions. This is very unusual in the collection. He usually limits his comments to the context of the prayer, or the description of the reciter. Here, he says,

> The ceremonies observed in saying these prayers for justice, like those observed on many similar occasions, are symbolic. The bathing represents purification; the junction of three streams, the union of the Three Persons of the Godhead; and the spreading rays of the morning sun, divine grace. (20; I, 53)

Several notes for texts mention streams as the place to go to offer a particular prayer. Another invocation for justice, entitled "Success of Moot" (425; IV, 147) gives instructions for the proper use of the prayer. In this instance, the prayer must be delivered at a boundary stream which is not affected by sun, heat or drought. Also, the efficacy of some prayers for healing depends on (among other things) the correct location of the pray-er when praying. In a "Charm for the Evil Eye" (428; IV, 155), the stream must be both a boundary stream and one over which the living and the dead pass. In "Countering the Evil Eye" (431; IV, 163) and "Displacement of the Heart" (460; IV, 207), the pray-er must go to the underside of a bridge which crosses water (431) or a stream (460) over which the living and dead pass.

These slightly different locations all have the central characteristic of liminality. The pray-er is venturing to borders, to intersections where thresholds are crossed. These are lines of demarcation which are crossed both by the living and the dead—those who have already been ferried "across the black river of death." (II, 242)

In these prayers, the pray-er is coming to a liminal place, invoking the Trinity, and gaining power, either for justice, or for healing. These places seem to be powerful because of their liminal character. When appealing to God for power, it appears to be efficacious to come to a boundary. Perhaps one is seen as coming close to the other world by coming to a stream similar to the river of death.

What does this say about the experience of God in everyday life? Clearly, this venturing to the boundary stream is not an everyday activity, but one resorted to in extraordinary circumstances. There is something **special** about these threshold places. Does an experience of special immanence dilute the experience of immanence in the ordinary? Not necessarily. As stated before, God cannot be quantitatively **more** present in one place than another. Yet God can be experienced in qualitatively different ways in different times and places. So, it would appear that these thresholds hold a qualitative power that other places do not, and this power may be called upon in times of need. Yet this special quality does not rule out experiences in other places, any more than hearing music in an amphitheater makes listening to music in other places impossible.

There is another spatial threshold of 'special immanence' which is mentioned many times in CG: the door of the house. Its most important occurrence is in relation to augury, or divination (Gaelic: frìth). The first reference to this use of the doorway is in connection with the "Augury of Mary" notes, 194; II, 158-9. This prayer was used to divine the location of a missing person or beast in the present (not the future.) It was made just before sunrise on the first Monday of the quarter:

> The augurer, fasting, and with bare feet, bare head, and closed eyes, went to the doorstep and placed a hand on each jamb. Mentally beseeching the God of the unseen to show him his quest and to grant him his augury. . . . (194; II, 158)

In the text of the prayer, the pray-er invokes the presence of God over, under, before and behind, invokes the augury Mary used to find Jesus, and asks Jesus ("Son of beauteous Mary") to "Give Thou me eyes to see all my quest. . . ." (194; II, 159) Unlike the prayers at the streams mentioned above which could be used by any faithful believer, the augury could only be performed successfully by one with the gift

(which was inherited, 572 notes; V, 287)—one must have been given 'eyes to see.' So, although the threshold location is a factor in the effective use of this prayer, there are other crucial elements necessary. (See Chapter Five's section on human agents.)

Despite the differences between the use of the doorway and the boundary stream, liminality remains important. The augurer stands with eyes closed and hands on either side of the doorway. When he opens his eyes, he is looking onto the natural world, but through the eyes of faith he can interpret these ordinary things to lead to extraordinary knowledge. All this, it is stressed, is done with great prayer and meditation, and through an appeal to God and to the gift of the augury through Mary. (572; V, 287) The words, belief, and ritual action of the pray-er (including coming to the threshold) call upon God's active presence which may or may not grant special insight. Again we see the believer participating in a process which facilitates God's gracious action. The pray-er's action does not **cause** the bestowal of the divination, but it is an intentional effort to open to God and God's power. It is cooperation with God.

Other examples of the understanding of the role of the house's threshold can be seen in some of the ritual actions around birth and death in the house. The crossing of the boundary into, or out of life is a delicate one. When a woman is in labor, the mid-wife or other important woman in the house, goes to the doorway and places her hands on the door jambs and calls softly and welcomes Brigit, the mid-wife of Christ. (70 notes; I, 166) In his notes on the sluagh (what Carmichael calls the host, the spirits of dead mortals)[9] , Carmichael mentions several customs which are attempts to expedite birth, or the soul's departure after death:

> The 'sluagh' are supposed to come from the west; and therefore, when a person is dying, the door and the windows on the west side of the house are secured to keep out the malicious spirits. In Ross-shire, the door and windows of a house in which a person is dying are opened, in order that the liberated soul may escape to heaven. In Killtarlity [sic.], when children are being brought into the world, locks of chests and of doors are opened, this being supposed, according to traditional belief, to facilitate childbirth. (II, 358)

[9] The sluagh could also be interpreted as preternatural beings such as the early Irish band of warriors, the Fiana; or the sith-folk.

In this passage, the thresholds are more than metaphors, they are real players in the movement into or out of life. They have power to affect the souls' 'travel.' The time immediately following childbirth is seen in CG and many traditional sources as a very vulnerable one for mother and child with regard to abduction by the fairies, and special vigilance is required. Perhaps this is because the mother and child have just been a part of the process of crossing the threshold into life and the fairies are particular attuned to this.

Ritual actions such as these and the ones mentioned above exemplify the believer's understanding that the God-created world works in a certain way, and that one must act accordingly. The pray-er may believe that God has constructed the universe with certain 'tools' to assist the child of God in accessing God's power (for healing, protection, redemption, etc.). The believer has a responsibility to perform these actions—to use these 'tools,' or risk becoming a victim to the negative side of the power in the world: evil. Some of these 'tools' or methods are believed to have been discovered by human beings, others given to humanity by Christ, Mary, or saints, but all are ways of cooperating with God.

These spatial thresholds (streams, doors, windows, etc.) are more than metaphors or symbols for the pray-ers of CG. They have real God-given power, and must be used properly in order to facilitate God's action. These ritual actions are more than just an affirmation using symbols. They are a kind of sacrament—the privilege and responsibility of the believer to be a co-creator with God. (See Chapter Five.)

• Ritual actions performed 'sunwise' •

Another example of the experience of God in the arena of space in CG is the importance of many actions being performed 'sunwise.' There are countless references in CG to ritual actions both large and small being done sunwise (clockwise, Gaelic: deiseal), almost always three times. There are too many instances of actions performed sunwise to enumerate them all here. Suffice it to say that small actions like turning the dough of a bannock in the palm of the hand to the grand circuiting of the graveyard in horseback procession on St. Michael's Day were done sunwise. Perhaps this is, as Carmichael suggests, a remnant of primal sun-worship, or maybe it

is simply an effort to be in harmony with God's brightest physical light, the sun. In any case, the most common characteristic of actions invoking God's presence, or at least actions of apparent special significance to the pray-er is that they are performed sunwise.

Moving three times sunwise around something is a way making the invocation of the Trinity physical, and is usually done in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Here we see prayer as act in addition to text. Actions involve more of the person in prayer than words alone. By combining physical action with words (sung, intoned, spoken, whispered, or silently spoken in the mind), the pray-er brings more of him/herself to the activity. The pray-er is also using an additional form of communication to speak to God, one which reaches beyond or beneath the words to the desire of the person to reach God. Of course, actions, like words, may be used thoughtlessly, by rote. There seems to be less chance of thoughtlessness, however, when more of the person is involved in the activity.

Throughout this thesis, it will emerge that the performing of an action sunwise is a flag which alerts the reader to the fact that something important is taking place. The sunwise performance of an action, however small and seemingly insignificant, can be a way of sacramentalising the activity. As such, any references to the actions used in conjunction with texts bring a fuller picture of how the pray-er may be attempting to communicate with God.

• Time as an arena of God's active presence •

Time is an essential dimension to the created universe in which human beings live, and of which they are a part. Human beings live their lives in the dimensions of time and space. As such, we can only experience God within time, though in an ecstatic religious experience a person may **feel** freed from time. So, although God is not bound within, or to time, human beings' physical lives are. In the Judeo-Christian tradition, time has been marked in many ways and for many reasons. The Christian liturgical year emphasizes God's action in the life of Jesus by remembering various events in his life and in the life of the Church, and times of preparation for those events (Advent, Christmas, Lent, Easter, Pentecost). These Christian festivals

often coincide with the turning of the seasons, echoing God's activity in nature with God's salvific activity in Christ. Another Judeo-Christian way of marking time is the tradition of keeping the Sabbath, setting apart a day of rest and worship. This is the day in which God's active presence is especially, though not exclusively, remembered. Lastly, in the Roman Catholic tradition and others, the lives of saints are recalled by assigning a day of the year to them upon which special remembrance is given.

• Christmas and Hogmanay •

The prayers in CG show some ways of marking time as a sphere for God's action which are not necessarily unique, but which are distinctive within the Christian tradition. The only Christian liturgical occasion (not including saints' days) marked by specific prayers in CG is Christmas.[10] The Christmas chants in CG were used in a ritual which brought the Christmas story to life in the homes of the crofters. Carmichael says that there used to be bands of young men who dressed in long white shirts and tall white hats and went from house to house on Christmas Eve. They entered, and took hold of a child of the house, or if none were present, a 'lay figure' was devised. The child or figure was placed on a skin from a white lamb without blemish, and carried three times sunwise round the fire, while the men sang the "Christmas Hail" to the Christ child. "Homage and offerings and much rejoicing were made to the symbolic Christ." (55; I, 126) Then the "Christmas lads" were given food for their efforts.[11]

This ritual is an enactment of Christ's coming to the home and hearth of believers. Christ is not just a baby born long ago and far away. Christ, in the form of the child or the figure, is in their very midst to be praised and adored, as the "Hail" chants express. The use of the unblemished white lambskin brings a powerful remembrance that the Christ child would be the pure Lamb of God, sacrificed for

[10] Christmas, 8 texts: 55-62; I, 127-147. Easter is mentioned in the notes, see below. Easter Monday is mentioned in passing in 204; II, 181. Also, 68; I, 161 may be a prayer for Good Friday, or for every Friday: "To-night, the night of the cross of agony, / The cross of anguish to which the Christ was crucified."

[11] Ronald Black discusses this text and two other CG versions (56-7; I, 132-7) in "A Gaelic carol analysed," *The West Highalnd Free Press*, 22 Dec. 1995. He examines another CG nativity prayer (198; II, 168-9) in "God of the Moon, God of the Sun," *The West Highland Free Press*, 5 Jan. 1996.

humanity. This is indeed a profound ritual, one which may have been sacramental for the participants. In this activity, the ordinary child or figure is seen to be Christ the King, the Son of Mary the Virgin. This action is not only an incarnation of the Incarnation, but also an implicit affirmation of Christ's presence in each child, in each human being.

In some of the carols sung by a band of male carolers who went from house to house, Christ is seen as the gift given to humanity. In one song, the lead singer speaks as Christ to the listeners: "I am the Gift, I am the Poor, / I am the Man of this night. / I am the Son of God in the door, / On Monday seeking gifts." (60; I, 143) Again, Christ is pictured as being present, this time speaking from the doorway, at the liminal point of entry to the house, and figuratively to the world. These Christmas rituals are annual reenactments of the Word of God becoming flesh, bringing concrete images of the Incarnation into the very homes of the community of faith.

The first Monday after Christmas is called 'Monday of the Bannock,' and is the day the Christmas bannock is shared. Carmichael's description of this activity implies that this was a kind of family Eucharist. He defines the Gaelic 'bannag' as "Christ, Eucharist, a cake, gift, offering, a wish, a blessing." (II, 226) He says, "Certain cakes are made in certain ways and at certain seasons, and all significant. . . ." (II, 226) The bannock is carefully made using no leftover meal from a previous baking (to prevent the carlin from eating the family's luck) and turned sunwise in the left palm ("as a preventative of witchcraft"). Carmichael interprets the bannock as representing Christ:

> The 'bannag' is symbolic of Christ, and is broken and eaten by the family with becoming reverence and solemnity. After the bannock has been cooked the mother takes up the 'clach bhannag,' bannock-stone, against which the cake was supported before the fire, and tenderly hands it to her daughters, in emblem of Christ. (II, 226)

Roderick MacNeill, a reciter from Mingulay, Barra elaborates in Volume III:

> On the Night of the Gifts the good wives used to put the bannock-stone into the laps of their girl-children as a symbol of Brigit, since she was the first woman who took Christ the Son of God into her lap. (252; III, 111)

Carmichael mentions that in some isolated areas of the Outer Hebrides, the clergy sometimes could not make it to the people very often; sometimes years passed between visits. (III, 5) It is no wonder that lay sacraments such as this one (and lay baptism) developed. (Of course, this ritual may have also been used by people who lived within reach of a congregation and clergy.) Carmichael unfortunately gives no indication of any words that may have been used in this Eucharistic meal, nor does he describe in detail in what manner the bannock was shared amongst the family. Roderick MacNeill claimed: "There is a dear hymn concerning this [placing of the bannock-stone in girls' laps], but I do not remember it." (252; III, 111) It is clear, however, that the cake was shared reverently, and that the mother played a key role in its celebration. Just as the midwife performed the lay baptism, the woman of the household is at least a major celebrant, if not the celebrant of this sacramental act.

The handing of the bannock-stone to the girls in the family is a poignant identification with being the mid-wife or foster-mother of Christ. These girls are ritually becoming the woman who brought Christ into the world and who nurtured him. He is symbolically being placed in their laps. In this ritual, Christ is not only present through the bannock, but also in the stone upon which it was cooked. This ritual is rich in meaning, and again shows the use of objects and action to communicate (to God and to the participant) more than words alone could.

In CG, the turning of the calendar new year (Hogmanay) is marked by a rather obscure ritual in which a man dresses in a bull skin with horns and hooves still attached. The group of men attending him march with him sunwise around the tops of the croft walls,[12] beating the skin. They say a 'rune' at the doorway, and gain entry to the house. (63; I, 148 f.) Again the ritual action crosses the liminalities of the doorway, and in this instance, of the new year. This ritual is very difficult to interpret as revealing an experience of **God's** immanence in time, but it may be predecessor to the Christian liminal rituals.

[12] The tops of the walls are exposed because the roof is built from the inside edge of the walls because roofing timber was scarce. This leaves much of the thick wall tops exposed for easier roof repair.

• Easter •

Although there is no prayer text specific to Easter in CG, there is a practice described in Carmichael's notes in Volume II. According to Carmichael, the Gaelic word for Easter Sunday translates literally as "crucifying Lord's Day." Despite this emphasis on the crucifixion in the word for Easter Sunday, apparently the "people say that the sun dances on this day in joy for a risen Saviour." (II, 274) Carmichael says that a believer would climb to the top of the highest hill before sunrise. Just ascending the hill is not enough, however. In order to see the sun dance one must "believe that the God who makes the small blade of grass to grow is the same God who makes the large, massive sun to move." (II, 274-5) Here again, one must have eyes to see what is there—the eyes of faith. In the CG notes for the sluagh, one reciter tells Carmichael: "There is less faith now, and people see less, for seeing is of faith. God grant to thee and to me, my dear, the faith of the great Son of the lovely Mary." (II, 357-8) Here is an explicit expression of this idea that one must believe in the invisible forces before they become visible, and that this belief is of God. This reciter does not see belief in, and ability to see 'the host' as in any way contrary to Christian faith, but rather a consequence of it. The ability to see the 'supernatural' is not seen as a superstition, it is a sign of deep faith. They are seeing with clarity what is there for all to see if they can. (Human agency is discussed in greater depth in Chapter Five.)

Even with the eyes of faith, it appears, it is a rare gift to see the sun dance. The reciter, Barbara Macphie, said she saw it only once in her life, from the top of Benmore on Easter morning:

> The glorious gold-bright sun was after rising on the crests of the great hills, and it was changing colour—green, purple, red, blood-red, white, intense-white, and gold-white, like the glory of the God of the elements to the children of men. It was dancing up and down in exultation at the joyous resurrection of the beloved Saviour of victory. (II, 274)

Who can say exactly what this vision means? One thing is clear, however. The believer sees the most powerful object in nature dance in response to God's salvific act, the resurrection of Christ. Creation, not just humanity, is seen as rejoicing at God's victory. This experience shows nature as a fellow-creation of God. The God

who rose on Easter made the blade of grass, the sun, and human beings. With the eyes of faith and God's grace, the believer sees the great light of the rising sun dance for joy at the rising of God's Son, the great Light. (See nature as agent in Chapter Five.)

• Celtic Quarter Days in CG •

CG contains two texts for Beltane, an undisguised Celtic Quarter Day. I say undisguised, because there has been no successful effort to Christianize the day by changing its name or occasion (as the Celtic Samhain became All Hallows Eve). Although the lighting of the need-fire and the passing of people and livestock between two fires has no Christian impetus, the two texts in CG are directed to the Christian God, and to Mary. The first text (73; I, 183), addresses and invokes the Trinity's protection on the pray-er, family, and possessions. In the second text (74; I, 187), Mary is asked to protect the livestock Monday to Saturday, and the blessing and protection of the family by the members of the Trinity is invoked at the end of the text:

> Mary, thou mother of saints, / Bless our flocks and bearing kine; / Hate nor scath let not come near us, / Drive from us the ways of the wicked. // Keep thine eye every Monday and Tuesday / On the bearing kine. . . . // Every Wednesday and Thursday be with them, / Be thy gracious hand always about them. . . . // Every Friday be thou, O Saint, at their head. . . . // Every Saturday be likewise with them. . . . // The strength of the Triune be our shield in distress, / The strength of Christ, His peace and His Pasch, / The strength of the Spirit, Physician of health, / And of the precious Father, the King of grace. (74; I, 187)

So, in these two texts at least, the Christian God's presence and protection are invoked in the midst of a pre-Christian, primal ritual. There may have been, and Carmichael may have known of, Beltane texts which did not reflect Christian influence, but he would not likely include them in CG.

There is no indication in the CG text and notes about Beltane that there was any perceived incongruence in the invocation of the Christian God at this apparently pre-Christian rite. Nor was there any attempt to put a 'Christian face' on the ritual e.g., by claiming this is the Paschal fire. The pray-ers are praying to the same God they pray to at Christmas, and invoking this same God's protection on their livestock and families. "Be the Cross of Christ to shield us downward, / . . . upward, / . . .

roundward, / Accepting our Beltane blessing from us. . . ." (74; I, 189) Perhaps this is an example of a 'tool' for living in the God-created world which was given to the people not through scripture, or Christian folkloric or apocryphal accounts, but from the primal religious tradition of the area. This rite was not discarded wholesale as many other pre-Christian ceremonies were, but survived in an undoubtedly adapted form for quite a while. Carmichael says the starting of the need-fire was practiced until the first quarter of the nineteenth century. (73 notes; I, 182)

• Lughnasa and Mary's Day •

The first of August, Lughnasa, is not referred to in CG. The temporally closest day of importance which is mentioned is the Feast of Mary the Great on 15 August, which seems to have supplanted Lughnasa as the major celebration at that time of year, (although St. Michael's Day may also be connected with Lughnasa—see below.) As on other festive occasions, a special bannock was made and shared on this day. Carmichael calls this bannock the 'fatling of Mary' (Gaelic: Moilean Moire). It is made from grain picked and sun-dried that morning, and is toasted before a fire of sticks of sacred wood (e.g., rowan). The father breaks the bannock and hands a piece to each in his family and they sing the 'Paean of Mary Mother' while walking sunwise around the house's fire. After this, the father takes the embers and puts them,

> with bits of old iron, into a pot, which he carries sunwise round the outside of his house, sometimes round his steadings and his fields, and his flocks gathered in for the purpose. He is followed without as within by his household, all singing the praise of Mary Mother the while. (76 notes; I, 195)

The verse text recounts the ritual actions taken, and says that all was done in the name of Mary (and for the sake of Christ's passion) "Who promised to preserve me, / Who did preserve me, / And who will preserve me. . . ." (76; I, 195) There will be a discussion of the role of Mary as God's agent later in this thesis. At this point, what is important to notice is the affirmation of the promise of protection, protection in the past, and the belief in future protection.

At the turning of a season, here is another ritual for protection of family and flocks by God. This prayer as act exhibits strong Eucharistic dimensions. The

everyday act of making bread is transformed or sanctified (or its innate holiness is recognized.) On Mary's Day, new grain is picked and processed quickly, hearkening to the Passover's unleavened bread. It is kneaded on a sheep skin reminiscent of the Lamb who was sacrificed and whose body was broken for humanity. It is baked on a sacred fire. The family share the bannock together, and sing while walking sunwise around the fire—another flag to the importance of this act. Then the house and flocks are encompassed, as the family takes some embers in a pot and carries it, "sunwise round the outside of his house, sometimes round his steadings and his fields, his flocks gathered in for the purpose." (76 notes; I, 195) The verse text says:

> I went sunwise round my dwelling, / In name of the Mary Mother / Who promised to preserve me, / Who did preserve me, / And who will preserve me, / In peace, in flocks, / In righteousness of heart / [197] In labour, in love, / In wisdom, in mercy, / For the sake of Thy Passion. / Thou Christ of grace / Who till the day of my death / Wilt never forsake me! (76; I, 195-7)

• Samhain •

Samhain is sadly neglected in CG.[13] Perhaps the nature of the rituals and traditions of this night/day were too associated with 'superstition' for Carmichael to choose to include any texts concerning it. It is ironic that some of the customs related to this occasion (notably, going house to house wearing disguises) have been adopted and used to this day by other cultures, yet Carmichael hardly mentions the night and its festivities in CG. He has only one sentence in his CG notes about it: "This is one of the seasons when innumerable mystic rites are practiced." (II, 347) Uncharacteristically, he does not elaborate.

• Imbolg and Brigit's Day •

The first Celtic Quarter Day in the calendar year, 1 February, 'Imbolg,' became St. Brigit's Day. Carmichael gives only two texts in his section on Brigit and her day in Volume I, neither of which appear to have been used on Brigit's Day or Eve. He does, however, provide ten pages of notes. There are too many traditions mentioned in the notes to recount them all here, and the significance of Brigit as an agent will be

[13] The only mention of Samhain in the verse text of CG is 1) in "The Beltane Blessing": "Bless. . . . / Everything within my dwelling or in my possession, / All kine and crops, all flocks and corn, / From Hallow Eve to Beltane Eve. . . ." (73; I, 183) and 2) in "A Fragment": "The roar of battles on the hillock of Samhain / Above me. . . ." (599; V, 393)

discussed later. Some of the customs, however, are worth mentioning because they reflect interesting ways of marking this transitional day of the year. Most of the traditions Carmichael gives in the notes have no explicit connection with the Christian Brigit. They seem to be a welcoming of Spring and have to do with fertility. Carmichael says Brigit's day was considered the first day of Spring. (70 notes; I, 167) The few rituals I will mention make use of boundaries.

On Brigit's Eve, there is a procession in which the young women (rather than young men as at Christmas and Hogmanay) carry a decorated figure of Bride made of a sheaf of grain and gather gifts for her. After this procession from house to house, the maidens secure themselves in one house, barring the door and locking the windows. Then the "young men of the community come humbly asking permission to honour Bride. After some parleying they are admitted and make obeisance to her." (70 notes; I, 167) In this ritual, the young men are seeking entrance to the place where Brigit resides, to cross the threshold to come into her presence. The young men and women have a festive evening of singing and dancing and at dawn form a circle and sing "Beauteous Bride, choice foster-mother of Christ." Unfortunately, Carmichael does not provide the text of this song nor the one sung during the procession. With these, more analysis could take place. Nevertheless, it can be seen that the group is marking the crossing of the threshold between quarters at dawn, the very turning of the day. It could be said that just as Brigit enabled the birth of Christ into the world, so too she is the mid-wife of Spring. She must be honored in order for spring to be born in good time and without trouble. "Bride is said to preside over the different seasons of the year and to bestow their functions upon them according to their respective needs." (70 notes; I, 172)

The older women have their own ritual involving thresholds on Brigit's Eve. They make a decorated figure of Brigit and a cradle for it.

> When it is dressed and decorated with all the tenderness and loving care the women can lavish upon it, one woman goes to the door of the house, and standing on the step with hands on the jambs, calls softly into the darkness, . . . Bride's bed is ready. To this a ready woman behind replies, . . .Let Bride come in, Bride is welcome. The woman at the door again addresses Bride, . . . Bride! Bride, come thou in, thy bed is made. Preserve the house for the Trinity." (70 notes; I, 168)

Here is one of the few explicitly Christian elements in Carmichael's description of the festivities, the mention of the Trinity. The women then carefully place the figure in the bed they have made for her. The similarity of this, and the maidens' ritual to the Christmas Hail of the lay figure or child as Christ is remarkable. Here again is a physical representation being welcomed into the home, only this time it is only women who are present, and it is Brigit rather than the Christ-child who is present. The antiquity of such a ritual is difficult to discern. Perhaps the Christmas ritual is an adaptation of this older one.

There are two other uses of borders mentioned in the notes on Brigit which are worth noting. First, if the ashes of the hearth (which are read and interpreted) bode ill for the household, then Brigit must be appeased. "To propitiate her and gain her ear the family offer oblations and burn incense." (70 notes; I, 168) Carmichael says the oblation is often a cockerel or pullet which is "buried alive near the junction of three streams. . . ." (70 notes; I, 168)[14] Animal sacrifice may point to great antiquity of this custom, because almost all forms of institutional Christianity have frowned upon animal sacrifice since its beginnings. The use of the three streams is significant as mentioned before (liminality and the Trinity).

The other use of a threshold on Brigit's Day in CG is in the doorway of a church. Some practical tasks were done on this quarter day, such as counting the flocks (and dedicating them to Brigit) in Uist, and casting lots for fishing rights in Barra. The casting of the lots which determined the boundaries within which each fisherman could fish took place in the doorway to the church. Carmichael says:

> All go to church on St. Bride's Day. After reciting the virtues and blessings of Bride, and the examples to be drawn from her life, the priest reminds his hearers that the great God who made the land and all thereon, also made the sea and all therein, and that . . . the wealth of sea and the plenty of land, the treasury of Columba and the treasury of Mary, are His gift to them that follow Him and call upon His name, on rocky hill or on crested wave. . . . Having come out of the church, the men cast lots for the fishing-banks at the church door. (70 notes; I, 173)

[14] Perhaps Miranda Green is referring to this text when she says of the **pre-Christian** goddess, Brigit: "Significantly, as a triple goddess, she was propitiated by the sacrifice of a fowl buried alive at the meeting of three waters." *Dictionary of Celtic Myth and Legend* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1992), p. 214.

This description is significant in many ways. First, it is one of the few references in CG to the people in church, and to the clergy in a positive light. (The priest in this case was most probably Fr. Allan McDonald, Carmichael's friend and colleague.) Most of the information in CG is about the private or communal practices of the people which took place outside the church. This is a helpful reminder that the prayers in CG usually took place in the context of a church-going life, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic. Secondly, it gives a glimpse of how the saint's life was used in this Roman Catholic congregation. It is unsurprising that her virtues and life were lifted up as examples for the people. Without making too much of one quotation, it is nevertheless interesting that the priest asserts that the bounty of sea and land are God's gift to those who "follow Him and call upon His name. . . ." It could be said that many of these rituals are ways of calling upon God's name, even if it is through calling upon God's agent. After all, as the priest says, the sea and land are God's but he also calls them the "treasury of Columba and the treasury of Mary."

Lastly, the fact that the fishing boundaries are determined while standing at the church doorway is meaningful. It seems fitting that this setting of boundaries should take place at a threshold. The fact that the church's doorway was used may have been a matter of convenience, because the community was already gathered for church. Yet the threshold of the sanctuary could have been seen as a very special place, and as such the perfect choice for this important activity. Although there is no indication that a prayer was said at this time, the participants had clearly just been at prayer in church. It seems likely that God's active presence had already been invoked, and was seen as active in the drawing of the lots.

It can be difficult to discern how these rites for Brigit's Day reflect an experience of God in the arena of time, especially the ones with no explicit Christian references. These practices are further examples of the believer's participation in God's plan. It may have been understood that the Christian has a responsibility to perform certain rituals according to tradition, in order for God (whether through agents or directly) to do certain things, e.g., bring Spring on time. Or perhaps this is merely a ritual marking of the coming of Spring, or a way of binding the community together after a

hard winter—a ceremonial recognition of the importance of the turning of the season. In any case, it is clear that this, like other thresholds of the year in CG, was considered a highly significant day, and that, as such, it should be marked by certain rituals. The implication is that if the believer did not perform the rites (most of which give honor to Brigit), bad things would happen, e.g., Spring would be late, childbirth would be difficult, people would be infertile, etc.

• First Monday of the Quarter •

In addition to the quarter days themselves, the first Monday of each quarter was auspicious. Many activities in CG were best done on this day. It has already been noted that certain prayers for healing, protection or justice were best performed on the first Monday of the quarter. In his Volume II notes, Carmichael recounts a strange rite:

> In order to appease any evil spirits that might be hovering about in the air above or lurking about in the earth beneath, a living creature was thrust outside by the first person who rose in the morning, and the door shut again. The awaiting spirits seized the propitiatory sacrifice thus offered to them, which was generally a cock or hen, a drake or duck, or a cat, rarely a dog. If this [249] offering to the night spirits were neglected, some mishap would occur. (II, 248-9)

This sacrifice is one of appeasement, as was the burial of the cockerel to propitiate Brigit if it appeared she was displeased. In this case, the spirits which are appeased are malevolent ones. Thresholds again appear as important factors in this rite. At the turning of the Monday (dawn) of the threshold of the quarter, a sacrifice is made through the doorway of the house. So, although Carmichael says the first Monday of the quarter was lucky for the people, there was nevertheless this need to propitiate evil spirits that morning, otherwise, a 'mishap' would happen. Again, the possibility of benevolence in a situation is accompanied the chance of malevolence. In Volume IV, other beliefs about the first Monday of the Quarter are mentioned. They reinforce the idea that power for good is often accompanied by power for bad:

> That day was a specially good day for checking evil eye, and for drawing lovers to one another, and, alas! for parting. . . . [It] was a favourite day for the men and women of the evil eye to practise their . . . black art. This was the day on which the men and women of the 'frìth,' augury, cast their visions, and the men and women of the witchcraft spirited away the milk from the cows. (426 notes; IV, 150)

One of the primary reasons these Celtic Quarter Days (or adaptations of them) are important in CG is because they are indicators of thresholds between the seasons of the year. Just as spatial boundaries are important in CG, so too, are temporal boundaries. The movement from one season to the next was a vital aspect of the lives of the pray-ers of CG. The appropriate observation of the transition was a way for the believer to participate in this important process.

• Saints' days in CG •

Some of the saints' days remembered in CG are not apparent adaptations of quarter days. I will not discuss the role of particular saints themselves at this time, but a few of the observances on saints' days are worth noting in the context of time as a sphere for the experience of God. Of course, the practice of celebrating certain days of the year in honor of saints is by no means unique to the Highlands and Islands of Scotland. Remembrance of saints' lives through annual rituals reinforces the role (whatever that may be) a saint plays in the life of the people. The kind and degree of festivities around a saint's day is a good indicator of the importance of that saint for the believers. So, the celebration of saints' days is a way of using time (namely, a particular day of the year) as a way of fortifying the understanding and belief in God's activity through agents. Of course, some of the ceremonies around saints' days may serve many purposes besides bolstering the saint's role.

• St. Michael's Day •

Carmichael describes at length many festivities associated with the celebration of St. Michael's Day (about 11 pages of notes).[15] There is no need for me simply to repeat what Carmichael says. I will, however, look at a few practices he mentions which are quite sacramental in nature. Michael's Day in CG is in many ways a harvest festival, with the 'first fruits' being offered to God, thus reinforcing the theory

[15] It is worthy of note that many of the descriptions in this section of CG must be second hand, as Carmichael says that many of the ceremonies were dying out or no longer practiced in his time. He says that the last circuiting in South Uist was in 1820, and the last 'oda' (horse race and athletics games) in North Uist was in 1866. Carmichael may have been present at the oda, but the last circuiting was before he was born. He says that, "The Michael lamb is sometimes slain, the Michael 'strùan' is sometimes baked, and the carrots are occasionally gathered, but the people can give no account of their significance." (77 notes; I, 208) It is at this point he offers his own theories about the meaning of some of the ceremonies. He quotes and translates a poignant saying: "But all that has gone like a vision, / Like the breaking of a bubble on the surface of the sea." (77 notes; I, 208)

that Michael is the Celtic god Lugh transformed—Lughnasa was, among many things, a 'first-fruits' festival. Like Brigit's Day, there is also a ritual sharing of a special bannock on Michael's Day. In addition to the bannock, a spotless male lamb is slaughtered on Michael's Eve for use the next day in the meal. The bannock is made from all of the grains which are grown on the farm. Carmichael says: "It represents the fruits of the fields, as the lamb represents the fruits of the flocks." (77 notes; I, 200) Like other bannocks for special occasions, this one is prepared with great care by the eldest daughter. The Michael's Day bannock is called the 'struan' and takes different shapes though it is always of the same size because it is made from one peck of meal. Carmichael recounts some of the shapes and their significance: some are

> three cornered, symbolic of the Trinity; some five, symbolic of the Trinity, with Mary and Joseph added; some seven, symbolic of the seven mysteries; some nine, symbolic of the nine archangels; and some round, symbolic of eternity. (77 notes; I, 201)

It is baked on a flagstone by a fire made from sacred woods, and three layers of batter are brushed on with three cockerel tail feathers (or in Uist, a bunch of bent grass.) If the struan breaks at any point of the process, it is an ill omen. In addition to the large communal struan, each family makes small, individual cakes for absent or dead family or friends. The woman says a short, two-line prayer for the person in whose honor the cake is made while she kneads the dough. (77 notes; I, 201) A similar prayer is said while she moistens the meal for the family struan: "Progeny and prosperity of family, / Mystery of Michael, protection of Trinity." (77 notes; I, 200) The celebration of Michael's Day in CG has much to do with fertility, so it is not surprising that many of the short prayers Carmichael gives in the notes contain wishes for progeny.

Clearly, the making of the struan is taken quite seriously and reverently. The woman making it invests the cake with great significance by praying over her work, and every care is taken to ensure that the bannock is pure. Carmichael's words are unclear about the causation of the ills and evils which would befall the girl and/or her family if the struan breaks. It appears that if it breaks, it **tells** them what will happen rather than **causes** the evil, but it could be that mishandling the struan could itself be

causing the ill. Here again is an example of the two sides of any powerful activity. With the power for good comes the possibility that, if it is not respected, it will become the power for ill.

The families take the struans to the early mass at church on Michael's Day to be blessed by the priest. This is another rare reference in CG to the priest and attendance at mass. Unlike some of the other Eucharistic meals mentioned, this one includes a blessing of the bread beforehand by a priest (whenever the family live within reach of a church). This shows that, in many cases, this Eucharistic Michael meal was celebrated in addition to mass, not because there was no access to mass. So, it cannot be said that all the Eucharistic meals celebrated in the home in CG were celebrated because there was very little opportunity for the celebration of mass by a priest, or communion by a minister.

The Michael's bannock is shared after returning from mass, and may be seen as a continuation of the Holy Sacrament in the home. The father places the struan on a pure white board, and takes

> A knife keen, true, / Without stain, without dust, / Without smear, without flaw, / Without grime, without rust, // and having made the sign of the cross of Christ on the tablet of his face, the man cuts the struan into small sections, retaining in the parts the form of the whole. . . . Then the family, standing round, and holding a bit of struan in the left hand and a piece of lamb in the right, raise the 'Iolach Micheil,' triumphant song of Michael. . . . (77 notes; I, 202)

This is clearly a sacramental act. Every indication is present in Carmichael's description for the reader to infer that the participants see the elements of this celebration as holding great power.

The "Blessing of the Struan" (78; I, 213-5) is one of the two full-length texts Carmichael gives in relation to Michael's Day. It is a prayer for abundant crops and protection from evil, in the name of God the Son, Michael, the Lamb and His Mother, and others. Again, the believer is performing a ritual activity with prayer as a way of participating in God's plan. The proper execution of this ceremony will increase (not insure) the possibility of God's blessing. After mentioning the meal, milk, eggs, and butter for the struan, and praying for prosperity and peace, the believer creates a poignant image by listing twelve different plants and saying:

> I will put water on them all, / In precious name of the Son of God, / In name of Mary the generous, / And of Patrick. // When we shall sit down / To take our food, / I will sprinkle in the name of God / On the children. (78; I, 215)

Just as the plants are watered to encourage their growth, so too are the children. Of course this calls to mind the use of holy water in the church (and elsewhere). The seeds were also sprinkled with water to begin the germination process (see below.)

It is important to note that this Michael's Day meal includes provision for those in the community who have no fields and no flocks.

> It is proper that every husbandman in the townland should give, on the day of the St. Michael Feast, a peck of meal, a quarter of struan, a quarter of lamb, a quarter of cheese, and a platter of butter to the poor and forlorn. . . . (77 notes; I, 203)

As a result of this giving, the poor people will praise Michael and God, "blessing the man and the woman [who gave the food] in their sons and in their daughters. . . ." (77 notes; I, 203) So, by giving what is 'proper' to the poor on St. Michael's Day, the donor receives the benefit of the poor person's prayers. Of course, one cannot say what the motives of the donors were, perhaps there was just as much a desire to help their neighbor as to gain their prayers. In any case, here is an example of acts of charity assisting the believer's relationship with God. By showing mercy to others, one increases the chances for obtaining mercy from God.

The other CG Michael's Day ritual I would like to discuss here is the circuiting of the burial ground on horseback. Carmichael describes the conduct of the circuiting procession which takes place after all who are able have made the pilgrimage to the burial ground. Before the circuiting, they kneel and pray for Michael's guidance. Then the priest, riding on a white horse and dressed in white, leads the community's circuiting. "The great crowd starts from the east and follows the course of the sun in the name of God, in the name of Christ, in the name of Spirit." (77 notes; I, 204) As they make the circuit with solemnity and reverence, they sing the song of Michael. This activity is another example in the tradition of the caim. The entire community (except for the very young and very old who are watching the farms) is compassing their ancestors buried in the grave yard. Carmichael interprets the sunwise circuiting

as probably representing "ancestor-worship and sun-worship. . . ." (77; I, 208) This seems to be a rather simplistic understanding. Michael is seen as the soul's guide from death to life, who rides a white steed. This circuiting of dead ancestors on horseback could be a way of "coming close" to Michael (as the guide of the dead) in order to invoke his protection. The use of the burial ground could be another way of coming to a threshold in order to bring power to one's request. In this case, the threshold is the graveyard, a place of transition between death and the next life, a fitting place to meet Michael, the guide of souls.

The text of "Michael Victorious" is a circuiting prayer in which the pray-er praises Michael and invokes his protection: "Though I should travel ocean / And the hard globe of the world / No harm can e'er befall me / 'Neath the shelter of thy shield; / O Michael the victorious, / . . . God's shepherd thou art." (77; I, 211) The reference to Michael's shield connects with the idea of compassing and making the caim as a shield against harm. The third, and last verse of the text invokes the peace of the Trinity. There is no indication in the CG notes and texts that the people in the procession pray to (or even for) the dead who are buried in the grave yard. The only mention of dead loved ones is in the baking of a struan for them. So, although ancestors are clearly included in the ceremonies of the day, there is no evidence upon which to claim ancestor **worship**.

This circuiting seems to be a special way to invoke Michael's and the Trinity's protection. The fact that the priest rides at the front upon a white horse is highly significant. As he embodies Christ in the Roman Catholic mass, the priest represents Michael in this procession. The people again create a physical representation which makes the power of the presence that much more tangible. The connection between prayer as action and as words is very strong here as in many ceremonies already mentioned. The pray-er not only invokes Michael and the Trinity with words, but gets on horseback, goes to the burial ground, prays, and compasses the dead while singing an invocation. More of the person is involved in the prayer than just the mind and the vocal chords.

The celebration of feast days (Quarter Days, or Saints' Days) are not activities of 'everyday' life in the sense that they only come around once a year, and sometimes involve direct participation by the clergy. Yet, they seem to fall under the remit of my thesis because most of the rituals involved are celebrated primarily, if not entirely, by lay people in non-liturgical settings. This is what I mean by exploring God in 'everyday life'—the lives of ordinary lay people.

• Days of the week •

Cooperation with God's ordering of the universe in CG is seen not only in the observance of the turning of the seasons, but also in the observance of the days of the week. In the traditions of CG, Sunday is not the only day of the week with special religious significance. Each day of the week is auspicious or inauspicious for certain activities. Even the Gaelic names for Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday include references to liturgical fasts, and the Gaelic word for Sunday in CG literally means 'the Lord's Day.' Carmichael discusses some of the beliefs about days in his notes in Volume II (pp. 271-274). I will not recount all that he says here, but there are a few points worth mentioning. He says, "Friday is unlucky and banned because Christ was put to death on that day." (II, 272) Many activities, or at least beginning some activities, are 'crossed,' or banned, on Friday. Carmichael says that if a person is seen beginning to cut peat on a Friday, "someone will remark, . . . There is some one here to-day who will not see these peats burnt" (II, 272), thus implying that while proper cooperation with the order of things will assist blessing, action against the order of things will undoubtedly bring mishap. The connection between certain banned Friday activities and the Biblical events which inspired their prohibition is easy to see in the ban of any labor using iron (the element from which, it is believed, the nails were made which held Jesus to the cross.)

Columba is such an important saint in the life of the people of CG, that not only does he have a day of the year in his honor (the second Thursday in June), but every Thursday is Columba's Day. "Thursday was propitious for all good work, especially for work connected with sheep, cattle, [272] and wool-working." (II, 271-2) For some reason Thursday was a good day to be born, to die and to go forth into battle.

As it happens, Carmichael died on the first Thursday in June, 1912, one week before the annual Columba's Day.

The fairies are limited in their activity on certain days of the week. They are not allowed out on Fridays. In fact, their activity seems very restricted according to a reciter in Mingulay, in 1871: The fairy folk . . .

> are only permitted to emerge [from underground] when and where the King [God] permits. They are never allowed abroad on Thursday, that being Columba's Day, nor on Friday, that being the Son's Day, nor on Saturday, that being Mary's Day, nor on Sunday, that being the Lord's Day. (II, 353)

In addition to fairies, other 'supernatural creatures' are restricted by days of the week. "Witches and all evil things are powerless on Thursday." (II, 272)

Carmichael includes two texts about keeping Sunday holy. The first, "The Poem of the Lord's Day" recounts activities it is improper or proper to perform on Sunday. The one who keeps the Lord's Day "would obtain recompense therefrom, / Produce after the ploughs, / Fish on the pure salt-water stream, / Fish excelling in every river confluence." (79; I, 219) Clearly, the reward for keeping the sabbath is bountiful food. The second prayer, "Hymn of the Sunday" (80; I, 223) exhorts the listener to remember and keep the ten commandments, many of which it paraphrases in the text.

So, like the Quarter Days and saints' days, the days of the week in CG are significant as spheres of God's active presence. Human activity, and even the activity of 'preternatural beings,' is shaped by the quality of each day of the week. To act in accordance with the ordering of the days of the week is prudent, to ignore them is foolhardy and will likely bring harm.

• Times of day •

As has been mentioned before, sunrise (the threshold of the day) is a powerful time for the recitation of certain prayers for healing. Also, the first person who rose on the first Monday of the quarter offered the propitiatory sacrifice out the door. With the eyes of faith, a woman saw the sun dance as it rose on Easter morning. Like the seasons and days of the week, the time of day in CG has some significance as an arena of divine activity. (The greeting of sun and moon will be discussed later in

Chapter Five.)

Night and darkness have long been metaphors for loneliness and evil. Sometimes, however, they are more than metaphors; they are seen as the special province of malevolent powers. There are a few examples of this in CG. Carmichael tells of a man in Benbecula who was taken up by the 'sluagh' several times: "night became a terror to this man, and . . . ultimately he would on no account cross the threshold after dusk." (II, 358) A young woman in Lochmaddy went to the peat stack one night to get a creel of peats. She felt something fly through the air, pass through her hair and graze her ear. "Stooping down in the bright moonlight, she picked up a fairy arrow. The girl never again went out at night." (II, 346)

"No one will willingly be out and no one will willingly travel between midnight and cockcrow. . . . This time is known as . . . the dead watch, the dead watch of the night." (360; IV, 7) Carmichael recounts a story of a man meeting "the Fiend in human shape. . ." and claims that, "Ever since that time no one goes out to gud the river at an unmeet time of the year (spawning time) or at an unmeet time of the night (the dead watch)." (360; IV, 10) Clearly, there are times of day in which one is believed to be particularly vulnerable to the powers and creatures of evil. It is unwise and 'unmeet' to ignore the power of these characteristics of times of the day.

• Birth, Baptism, and Death •

It is natural, and human, for there to be a heightened appreciation for God's presence at the critical times of birth and death—the coming of new life, and the final journey to meet one's Maker. CG contains a number of texts which concern birth and death. Some of the examples in the earlier discussion regarding spatial thresholds concerned entering and leaving life. In CG, crossing the border into and out of life is clearly one where the power of liminality is strong. In addition to a few texts in Volumes I and II, and references in the notes in Volume II, there are sections in Volume III for both "Birth and Baptism" and "Death" (these are the dirges Carmichael Watson mentions in the letter quoted in Chapter Two.)

Five baptism prayers in Volume III (217-221; III, 7-23) show that often a lay baptism was performed so that the baby would be protected and sanctified until such

time as the priest or minister was able to perform one. This task was sometimes done by the mid-wife herself. Some texts combine the lay baptism with a ritual washing of the newborn infant. "Droplets" are placed in the name of the Trinity (baptism) and washing with nine "wavelets" invoke protection. For instance, the text "Birth Baptism" has two parts. First, the drops are placed by the mid-wife on the child's forehead:

> The little drop of the Father / On thy little forehead, beloved one. // The little drop of the Son / On thy little forehead, beloved one. // The little drop of the Spirit / On thy little forehead, beloved one. / To aid thee from the fays, / To guard thee from the host; // To aid thee from the gnome, / To shield thee from the spectre; / To keep thee for the Three, / To fill thee with the graces; // The little drop of the Three / To lave thee with the graces. (217; III, 7)

Then, the infant is washed by the nurse, and each palmful of water is a "wavelet":

> A wavelet for thy form, / A wavelet for thy voice, / A wavelet for thy sweet speech; // A wavelet for thy luck, / A wavelet for thy good, / A wavelet for thy health; // A wavelet for thy throat, / A wavelet for thy pluck, / A wavelet for thy graciousness; / Nine waves for thy graciousness. (217; III, 9)

This ritual tells the reader many things. It speaks of the vulnerability perceived in this liminal moment of birth. The infant needs to be protected from the fays, the host, the gnome, and the spectre. This is in addition to the salvific role of baptism. Carmichael describes the special graveyard outside the church yard, for babies who had died without baptism (either lay or clerical).

> Not always is it so easy to obtain clerical baptism as it might seem to the dwellers in cities. In one of the small islands of the Long Island I have seen, on one of the minister's infrequent visits, children ranging up to seven years being unbaptised. . . . That, however, was about thirty years ago. (217 notes; III, 4)

Like some of the bannock rituals in CG, this is an example of lay participation in sacramental function—probably out of necessity. Also, this priestly function was often performed by women. Carmichael goes on to say that the clerical baptism is usually performed eight days after the birth, and is a social occasion where the child is handed from person to person, sunwise around the group. (217; III, 5) The timing, and handing from person to person echoes the Jewish circumcision ceremony.

The importance of triads is clear in this text as well. The Trinity is only one of the triads mentioned, the "wavelets" are in three sets of three. Four of the "nine waves for thy graciousness" (217; III, 9) invoked in this prayer are the same as four of the "nine pure choice graces" in "The Invocation of the Graces" (3; I, 7-9): form, voice, luck/fortune, and good/ness. The "Invocation . . ." is addressed to young women or men, and the idea is similar to that of the "Birth Baptism," to invoke protection and prosperity on a young person. So, there are a number of flags to the significance of birth and lay baptism in this text and the notes accompanying it: the power and vulnerability of liminality, sunwise actions, lay sacramental activity, and the use of triads.

One brief word may be helpful about two texts called "Kidney of Mary" in Volume IV (443-4; IV, 193). The "Kidney of Mary" is a seed pod or nut with a natural cross-shaped indentation in it. Carmichael says it would sometimes wash ashore in Barra and South Uist. (II, 225) The mid-wife would encourage the woman giving birth to hold it in her hand while a prayer like "Kidney of Mary" was intoned. In the prayer, the mid-wife appeals to Mary and Christ to assist the birth of the baby. There is at least one "St. Mary's Nut," as it is also called, in the Fort William Museum. It is among the collection of Carmichael artifacts donated to the museum by Michael A. Carmichael.

Death is also the theme for many texts in CG. The Volume III section contains ten prayers concerning death, and many of them have similar "flags" to that of birth and baptism. (342-351; III, 369-395) Again, the priestly role is not always performed by a clergy person:

> The soul peace is intoned, not necessarily by a cleric, over the dying, and the man or the woman who says it is called 'anam-chara,' soul-friend. He or she is held in special affection by the friends of the dying person ever after. The soul peace is slowly sung—all present earnestly joining the soul-friend in beseeching the Three Persons of the Godhead and all the saints of heaven to receive the departing soul of earth. During the prayer the soul-friend makes the sign of the cross with the right thumb over the lips of the dying. (51 notes; I, 116)

Carmichael mentions that often Roman Catholic believers wish for a "happy death" meaning that there is an opportunity for confession, anointing with oil, and

prayer over the faithful person who is dying. (373; III, 371) In this case, it is not altogether clear that the anointing must be in the last rites performed by a priest. Many texts also mention Michael or guardian angels to guide the departed to heaven, and appeal for mercy at the judgement seat (see Chapter Five, Michael and angels.) The liminal nature of death is portrayed by referring to the "black river of death" (e.g., 277.12; III, 203), the opening of doors and windows in a house where someone is dying (mentioned earlier), and the need for the soul to be led to God (as if crossing physical boundaries):

> When the soul separates / From the perverse body, / And goes in bursts of light / Up from out its human frame, // . . . Thou holy God of eternity, / Come to seek and to find me. // May God and Jesus aid me, / May God and Jesus protect me; / May God and Jesus eternally / Seek me and find me. (351; III, 395)

> May Mary Virgin's Son Himself / Be a generous lamp to you, / To guide you over / The great and awful ocean of eternity. (277.13; III, 205)

• Conclusions about time in CG •

From all these examples—the turning of the year, seasons, days of the week, times of the day, and the time of entering and leaving life—it is clear that time in CG is an arena for God's activity. The ordering of time contains vulnerability and power. Just as certain **places** can be pregnant with possibilities for good or ill in CG, so too can **times**. For the believer, if one knows and properly observes God's ordering of time, God's presence may be beneficent. If one does not follow this order correctly, then one leaves oneself open to evil and mishap.

• Home and work activities •

One of the most distinctive aspects of the CG collection is the significant amount of material it contains used during or before ordinary farm and home activities. There are over one hundred texts in CG which are prayers (with explicit Christian

references) for or concerning everyday activities in the home or on the farm.[16] The activities cover a broad range, including indoor activities like rising in the morning, kindling the fire, bathing a child, churning the butter, weaving and consecrating the cloth, and outdoor work like sowing and reaping, herding, milking, hunting, fishing, and sheep shearing. One of Carmichael's thematic sections is devoted to "Labour" (82-121; I, 231-335), and Carmichael Watson includes a section on "Morning Prayers" (222-235; III, 25-63), another on "Night Shielding" (321-341; III, 319-367)—rising and retiring are liminal activities, and a long group of texts concerning "Cattle-Stock" (378-394; IV, 41-87).

About half of the 105 prayers for ordinary home or farm tasks have protection by God as a theme, and about 40 percent of them are requests for God's blessing. (Around 80 percent of these prayers have either protection, or blessing, or both as themes.) This information gives the reader a strong indication of the **purpose** behind these prayers for ordinary activities in CG: the desire that the work prosper, and that the pray-er and her/his work be protected from harm. Like the observance of times and places, work and home life are seen as arenas of God's activity. There is a great respect for (if not fear of) God's beneficent role, and evil's malevolent role in the life and work of the believer. Again, there appears to be an implied cause and effect between prayer in cooperation with the order of things and the receipt of blessing (or mishap if it is not done.) Carmichael mentions such a belief in the notes introducing "The Soul Shrine," a prayer sung as the people retire for the evening:

> They say that the angels of heaven guard them in sleep and shield them from harm. Should any untoward [91] event occur to themselves or to their flocks, they avow that the cause was the deadness of their hearts, the coldness of their faith, and the fewness of their prayers. (38 notes; I, 90-1)

This saying by Carmichael seems thoroughly in keeping with the themes expressed in the prayers, especially the ones related to the ordinary activities of the believer. It is particularly interesting that one of the factors in Carmichael's comment

[16] See Appendix 3.2 for a list of 105 texts regarding activities. I did **not** include texts with no explicit Christian reference (e.g., some waulking songs, etc.), or general prayers for protection which had no explicit reference to sleeping or rising, or some other home or farm activity. Nor did I include prayers around special days and events (e.g., Hogmanay, birth), healing or plants for healing, divination, or greeting the sun or moon.

(in addition to the faith of the believers) is the **quantity** of their prayers. The CG collection bears witness to the degree to which prayer was incorporated into the lives of the reciters. As many contemporary Christians are searching for ways to weave prayer into more areas of their lives, CG gives every indication that prayer was a part of almost every aspect of the lives of the CG reciters. Carmichael says in his introduction to the volumes, "The people were . . . unable to see and careless to know where the secular began and the religious ended—an admirable union of elements in life. . . ." (I, xxxiii) This passage is often quoted and has been discussed briefly in Chapter 1. As stated before, this may be a grafting of alien theological concepts ('secular versus religious') onto a culture, but if one is trying to interpret that culture to members of another, then its use is warranted. Perhaps a clearer way of expressing this thought today might be to say that Carmichael's reciters did not compartmentalize their lives into areas where God was experienced and where God was not— "an admirable union of elements in life. . . ."

• Prayers <u>during</u> ordinary activities •

In addition to the breadth of activities for which there are prayers in CG, the manner of their use is quite distinctive. About 80 percent of the prayers for ordinary home and farm activities are prayed **during** the activity itself. Included in this percentage are many of the CG night prayers. Of course, these were not prayed while the believer was actually asleep. From the texts and some of the introductions, however, it is clear that many of them were prayed while the person was in bed, about to fall asleep—a time of transition, or liminality. Carmichael says that they were sometimes called "Pillow Blessing, . . . Couch Blessing, . . .Couch Shrining, Sleep Prayer; and other terms. . ." (26; I, 66) thus implying the context of their use. One reciter breaks her night prayer into parts. At first she prays at the locking of her door. Then, she says:

> After that I put out my light, and then I go to bed, and when I lie down on my pillow I make the cross of Christ upon my breast, over the tablet of my hard heart, and I beseech the living God of the universe—May the Light of lights come / To my dark heart from Thy place. . . . (330 notes and verse; III, 337)

In several of the prayers for ordinary tasks, the actions of the work are seen as physical metaphors for spiritual actions or requests. For instance, a mother adjures her children to pray when they arise and dress in the morning. Her child, now an adult reciter, says her mother would tell them: "that we might clothe our souls with grace while clothing our bodies with raiment." (222 notes; III, 25) And in the text of a night prayer, the action of disrobing is used as a metaphor in addressing "Thou great God": "As I put off from me my raiment, / Grant me to put off my struggling. . . ." (334; III, 345) Later in the same prayer, the clothing metaphor is extended to the protective cloak of Christ: "Shield my body in the shielding of Thy mantle. . . ."

Some of the work is ritualized through prayer (using words and action.) A good example of this is "The Consecration of the Seed." A few days before the seed is sown, it is sprinkled with water to begin the germination process. The water is sprinkled on the seed in the name of the Father, Son, and Spirit while the person is walking sunwise. (88 notes; I, 243) This simple procedure is turned into a significant ritual through the use of the sunwise action and the prayer's words. The long prayer text included in CG invokes the seed's growth in the ground in the name of God, angels and the Apostles. It also mentions many actions the pray-er performs/will perform to facilitate the invocation:

> I will place my front in the wind, / And throw a gracious handful on high. . . . I will come round with my step, / I will go rightways with the sun. . . . / [245] The Feast day of Michael, day beneficent, / . . . I will lift the first cut quickly; / I will put it three turns round / My head, saying my rune the while, / My back to the airt of the north; / My face to the fair sun of power. / I shall throw the handful far from me, / I shall close my two eyes twice, / Should it fall in one bunch / My stacks will be productive and lasting. . . . (88; I, 243-5)

It is clear from these lines that the pray-er invests the actions he performs while he prays with great importance. Once again the pray-er acts in accordance with tradition (the established order of things) in order to effect the best result from his prayer. In this case, the actions are given in the prayer itself rather in a prose introduction. The verbal account of the actions constitute a good part of the prayer. Although the English translation is not clear if the words are said before, or as the seeds are sown, Ronald Black translates the Gaelic as present tense, meaning it was

spoken during the action.

A few of the chores for which there are CG prayers were assisted by the rhythmical singing of the prayers. There are ten such texts in CG (which have explicit Christian references). There is one song for querning of grain, seven are milking croons, and there are two butter churning prayers.[17] In these activities, the task is moved along by the rhythm of the prayer. Just as a waulking song keeps the waulkers together, so too the steady beat of the Gaelic text assists the worker/pray-er.

> The quern songs, like all the labour songs of the people, were composed in a measure suited to the special labour involved. The measure changed to suit the rhythmic motion of the body at work, at times slow, at times fast, as occasion required. (92 notes; I, 253)

A number of the rhythmical work songs were not prayers (no explicit Christian reference), but in the aforementioned instances, they can be described as such. In these cases, the prayer does more than invoke God's protection, it also helps the performance of the work itself. This rhythmical style is best illustrated by looking at the Gaelic and English texts. For example, "Charm of the Butter" uses a repetitive chorus: [Gaelic] "Thig, a storra, thig! / Thig, a storra, thig! /Thig, a storra, meallan móra, / Thig, a storra, thig!" [English] "Come, ye rich lumps, come! / Come, ye rich lumps, come! / Come, ye rich lumps, masses large, / Come, ye rich lumps, come!" (396 ; IV, 84 and 85) It is especially easy to see the driving rhythm of the Gaelic verse.

It appears, therefore, that prayers for ordinary activities, and the performance of the tasks can interact in several ways in CG. They can be done simultaneously, or be separated. When the prayer and the task are done simultaneously, the actions can be seen as metaphors for spiritual requests. Lastly, in some cases the rhythm of the prayer can assist the efficiency of the work.

• Significance of prayer with ordinary tasks •

Having briefly examined the **purpose** behind most of the prayers for ordinary home and farm work, it is worthwhile looking at the **significance** of the combination of prayer and work. These 100+ prayers for tasks show that God could

[17] 92; I, 253-7 (quern). 93-97; I, 259-267. 99; I, 271. 395; IV, 79-81. (all milking). 396; IV, 82-5. 397; IV, 87. (both butter churning)

be and was turned to in the ordinary work of the day in addition to the special observances of times and places mentioned above. Home life and farm work are spheres of God's activity in CG. The need to turn to the divine for blessing and protection (and more) is present in the ordinary as well as the special moments. It is not only the spiritual well-being of the pray-er at stake, but his/her material prosperity was very much influenced. If the butter churning prayer was not said, then the butter might be spirited away. If the herd was not blessed, they might come to harm. This is not to imply that all these prayers may have been prayed merely out of fear of harm. As in anything, people rarely have pure (in the sense of only one) motives. One thing seems clear: the pray-ers turned to God in prayer in work and in the ordinary activities of life.

The frequent use of prayers **during** the action itself shows the high degree of integration of prayer (communication with God) into the lives of the pray-ers. It is not so much a Zen-like work **as** prayer, but prayer **in** work. The world-view comes across as one where God did not create neat compartments wherein some activities are 'religious' and some are 'secular,' but a world where God may be communicated with in all times, places, and activities—even during work. The pray-er, as a child of God, participates in the God-created order by asking for God's blessing, protection, forgiveness, etc., while at the same time nurturing his/her own openness to God. The very act of intentionally turning to God in prayer usually reinforces the knowledge/belief that God is present. So, the pray-er is more conscious of God's presence through the very process of turning to God. As a result, the pray-er is that much more likely to turn to God again, in more areas of life.

• Experiencing God though nature •

There are many examples in CG of the believer experiencing God in and through nature. This interaction is sometimes characterized by a personalization of nature, to the point where the sun, the moon, an animal, or even a plant is seen as an agent for God. For this reason, natural elements are discussed in Chapter Five, even though their agency is usually not as individualized or "strong" as that of certain saints or angels.

• Conclusions: Immanence and Liminality •

The recurrence of thresholds of space and time in CG can show us something about how God is experienced. It is clear from the many examples that spatial and temporal borders are deeply significant to the pray-ers of CG and that they are often occasions of encountering the divine. There are many kinds of boundaries (often traversable ones) which are used or implied in the texts and notes of CG, between: the natural and the 'supernatural', sea and land, day and night, season and season, birth into life, life and death.

These boundaries exist, and in fact are important, but they are crossable liminalities. They are traversable not only by God, but by many of God's agents. It will be seen in Chapter Five about the experience of God through agents, that many of these beings are God's agents through, or even **because** of, their liminal nature. Saints are human beings who have crossed into the next life, but can still help the living. Angels are messengers, guides and intermediaries between heaven and earth. The fairies are the fallen angels caught between heaven and hell when Satan rebelled. (II, 352-3) Some human beings are able to tap into the power of liminal times and places (e.g., healers, augurers, etc.) without necessarily being able to cross them.

It could be said that liminality is a marker of God's immanence and transcendence in CG. What is it about thresholds of time and place that are so important? It could be the vulnerability that is inherent in transition (temporal or spatial) which invests thresholds with such meaning. God's protective presence is especially needed at these new beginnings. God's immanence is experienced across the false borders of 'sacred' and 'secular.' At these thresholds, there is a special reliance upon, and recognition of the divine presence. Perhaps in addition to the special need at times and places of **transition**, there was a perceived **quality** of God's presence. Clearly, thresholds of time and place were seen as holding great power, so that the quality of God's activity may have been seen as particularly strong (in addition to the potential of evil, or at least mishap.) Temporal and spatial liminalities in CG are good 'meeting places and times' for encounter with the divine.

The practice of compassing, or making the caim, can be seen as the creation of

liminality around oneself. This self-made circuit is a vehicle for God's protection of the person who feels in danger. In this instance, where no natural boundary (of time or space) is present, the believer creates one for him/herself in order to tap into, or at least facilitate, God's protective presence. Liminality assists immanence. As mentioned before, the breastplate tradition of placing the powers of God and or creation between oneself and danger is a long one. The use of borders and thresholds in CG seems related in some way to this tradition.

CHAPTER FOUR

LANGUAGE WHICH EXPRESSES EXPERIENCE OF GOD

Much can be learned from the language used in the prayers of CG. The manner in which the pray-er addresses or speaks about God says a great deal about his/her experience of God. In this chapter, I will discuss some of the language which reveals certain aspects of the pray-ers' relationship with God. First, many of the prayers of CG contain no direct address to the deity. Second, the use of some prepositions and anthropomorphisms imply how, or 'where' the believer understands God in relation to him/herself. Third, scriptural allusion, language echoing scripture, and the use of prayers from the Christian liturgical tradition put the prayers of CG in a context, and give an indication that the believers are within the broader Christian tradition. Last, the names the pray-ers use for God tell a great deal about the way in which God is seen and experienced. The significance of some of these uses of language may be influenced to a greater or lesser degree by the fact that the English texts are translations of the original Gaelic.

In dealing with the language in CG in this chapter, I include texts concerning angels, saints, etc. on the assumption that these are intermediaries rather than independent agencies, loci of God's own power and presence; because it is the implications of the language used that concern me in this chapter. I shall discuss in the next chapter the question as to whether these angels, saints, etc. are indeed such intermediaries, or are independent in their agency.

• Forms of Address •

We are interested in this section in the <u>form</u> of address, not <u>to whom</u> the prayers are addressed. It is a distinctive aspect of CG that a high proportion of the verse texts which have explicit Christian references, and can be called prayers, never address God directly. In fact, 253 texts appeal to God without direct address.[1] An additional

[1] See Appendix 4.1. for complete list of 253 texts referring to God without direct address.

37 texts contain both indirect and direct address to God. Clearly, the use of indirect address in CG is important. Before discussing the significance of indirect address in CG, it will be helpful to give some examples.

One of the most common forms of indirect address in CG is that of "[May] 'x' be. . . ."[2] This form of request is often used in prayers for protection or healing. The pray-er states his/her desire that the blessing, cure, etc. will happen. In 22; I, 57, the pray-er not only invokes beneficence for herself: "Honey be in my mouth, / Affection be in my face; / The love that Mary gave her Son / Be in the heart of all flesh for me." but also characteristics of God: "All-seeing, all-hearing, all-inspiring may God be, / To satisfy and to strengthen me. . . ."

In some texts, the pray-er simply states what will or will not happen[3] , what he/she will or will not do,[4] or affirms what he/she believes is.[5] For example: "Angels shall watch me / And I lying in slumber. . . ." (40; I, 95.) "I will rise early on the morning of Monday, / I will sing my rune and rhyme. . . ." (106; I, 285) "The Three Who are over me, / The Three Who are below me. . . ." (245; III, 93) These passages are confessions of faith in which the believer shows great trust in both what God will do or is doing, and the efficacy of the pray-er's action in cooperation with God. In a prayer for healing (removing a mote from the eye) which contains no direct address to God, this faith is explicitly stated: "My trust is in the Being of life, / The mote that is in the blind eye, / That the true King of my devotion / Will gently place it hither on my tongue." (474; IV, 245) It is not necessarily the case that the pray-er believes that it is her **words** which effect the cure. It is God who effects the cure, and her trust is in God. (More will be discussed about healing and healers in the chapter on agents.)

Another important way of indirectly addressing God is to bring God's name into

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[2] An inexhaustive list of examples of "[May] 'x' be . . . ": 3; I, 7. 22; I, 57. 102; I, 277. 104; I, 281. 113; I, 309. 184; II, 129. 229; III, 49. 272; III, 185. 311, III, 297. 328; III, 333. 340; III, 361. 401; IV, 95. 479; IV, 255. 483; IV, 265. 497; IV, 295. 505; IV, 311. 564; V, 251.

[3] An inexhaustive list of examples of "what will or will not happen": 40; I, 95. 107; I, 289.

[4] An inexhaustive list of examples of "what the believer will or will not do": 70; I, 175. 88; I, 243. 106; I, 285. 133; II, 25. 478; IV, 253.

[5] An inexhaustive list of examples of "what is": 141; II, 45. 231; III, 53. 245; III, 93. 273; III, 191. 279; III, 217. 474; IV, 245. 478; IV, 253. 480; IV, 257.

the prayer. This is done in three main ways in CG. First, and most commonly, the pray-er does or asks something "in the name of" God.[6] By doing something in the name of God, the believer is perhaps trying to 'bring' God's power, authority, and blessing to the activity. Often it is the Trinity whose name is mentioned, whether the three individual members and/or the three as a unit ("Trinity," "the Three," etc.). This Trinitarian approach is often reinforced by the repetition of the phrase "in the name of . . . " three times, or in multiples of threes. This formulaic use brings an incantational quality to the prayer. Of course, the use of the Trinitarian formula is part of the Western Christian tradition (in baptism and in the liturgy), but its frequency in CG is worth noting.

CG texts with "in (the) name of . . . "

"in the name . . . " texts	Number of texts (not occurrences)
indirect address only	43
indirect and direct address	12
direct address only	8
TOTAL	63
with "in name of . . . " used three times, or multiples of three	30
all three members of the Trinity mentioned	35
"in name of . . . " the "Trinity" or "Three"	12

A second way the pray-er brings the name of God into the prayer is by saying that he/she is doing something as God would.[7] In this way the pray-er is affirming the presence of God in the task, and also recognizing the connection between him/herself and God. For example: "I will raise the hearth-fire / As Mary would. The encirclement of Bride and of Mary / On the fire, and on the floor, / And on the household all." (83; I, 233) In this prayer, Mary is recalled by stating that the action will be done as Mary would, and then Mary and Bride's protection is invoked. They are, essentially, two ways of saying the same thing, but in the former the pray-er involves her own action with the agent invoked. There appears to be a perceived

[6] An inexhaustive list of examples of "in name of": 20; I, 53. 70; I, 175. 88; I, 243. 114; I, 311. 425; IV, 147. 464; IV, 221. 465; IV, 223. 479;IV, 255. 502; IV, 305. 575; V, 297.

[7] An inexhaustive list of examples of doing as God/agent would: 20; I, 53. 83; I, 233. 86; I, 239. 87; I, 241. 130; II, 19. 326; III, 327.

efficacy of the pray-er's action. The implication is: "I will do this as she would, **and/therefore** she will be here."

A third way God's name is included in prayers in CG is by the pray-er stating that he/she is "in the presence of" (e.g., 445; IV, 195), "with" (e.g., 229; III, 49), "in the fellowship of" (e.g., 34; I, 83), "in tryst of" (e.g., 442; IV, 191), "in reliance on" (e.g., 470; IV, 239), "by guidance of" (e.g., 463; IV, 219), "dependent on" (e.g., 402; IV, 97), "with the aid of" (e.g., 482; IV, 263), God. These are all ways of affirming the belief in God's immanence. The pray-er clearly sees him/herself as depending on God's active presence. So, although there are texts in which there is a perceived efficacy of the pray-er's actions, there are also texts which show the pray-er's reliance on God.

One last form of prayer in which no direct address to God is present is the question (and, at times, answer.)[8] "Who is there on land? / Who is there on wave? / Who is there on billow? / Who is there by door-post? / Who is along with us? / God and Lord." (321; III, 319) As mentioned in the last chapter when discussing the caim, this form of questioning is reminiscent of "The Mystery" attributed to Amergin, but it also echoes Job 38 to 41 (e.g., "Or who shut in the sea with doors when it burst out from the womb?" Job 38.8) These often rhetorical questions serve to lead to a statement of belief. Instead of simply saying, "God is here," the believer says, "Who is here? God."

It has been said that this use of indirect address in the prayers of CG sounds like the pray-er 'ordering' God around. At this point it is helpful to say a brief word about the Scottish Gaelic text. Prof. William Gillies has informed me that the Scottish Gaelic words which are translated "Be 'x' . . . " or "May 'x' . . . " are not imperatives in the sense of commands. In many cases, an infinitive, verbal noun, or subjunctive is used. These can be understood as "it is my hope that . . . " rather than a **command** to God.

Another accusation which has been made against indirect address which calls

[8] An inexhaustive list of examples of questioning: 83; I, 233. 85; I, 237. 86; I, 239. 87; I, 241. 120; I, 331. 121; I, 333. 140; II, 43. 205; II, 183. 321; III, 319. 326; III, 327. 431; IV, 165. 435; IV, 171. 603; V, 403.

upon God's presence, sometimes called invocation, is that if God is experienced as actively present, then why would one need to invoke this immanent God? Part of the answer to this question lies in the definition of invocation. Invocation in this context does not mean a 'calling down' or a call which 'brings' someone or something which was not present before. Most of the invocations in CG are ones in which the presence of God is affirmed or called upon for a particular action. The invocation often implies a belief in God's immanence. Invocation is calling **upon** a present God, rather than calling '**down**' a far-off God.

Indirect address and invocation are clearly a part of the Judeo-Christian tradition, and part of the Celtic tradition as well. The Bible contains many examples of invocation, especially "in the name of" God, e.g., Abram built an altar "to the Lord and invoked the name of the Lord." (Gen 12.8) Jesus told his disciples: "Go therefore and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit . . . " (Mt 28.19); and, "I will do whatever you ask in my name. . . ." (Jn 14.13) Given this biblical promise, it is understandable that Christians would bring God's name into prayer, especially when asking for something.

It is at this point that it is helpful to look at the predominant themes of CG texts, and those in which only indirect address is used:

Themes in collection as a whole, and indirect address texts
(some texts have more than one theme)

Theme	Number of Texts in all CG	Indirect address
protection	181	93
blessing	152	47
healing	129	67
praise	50	3
guidance	28	2
sanctification	23	6
curse	10	2
divination	7	4

The frequency of themes is similar to the themes in the collection as a whole, with the most common theme being protection. In the entire collection, blessing is the next most prevalent theme, but indirect texts are more commonly for healing. Perhaps

the higher percentage of indirect address healing texts is due to the role of the healer in the process. Whereas God usually blesses, sometimes the agency of the healer plays a part in a healing (see Chapter Five).

It is not surprising that protection is a predominant theme in the use of indirect address in CG. It hearkens back to the making of the caim, and the Irish lorica tradition mentioned in the last chapter. 'Breastplates' (calling upon God or the elements to be one's 'shield' against harm) often contain heavy use of indirect address. In "St. Patrick's Breastplate," there is no direct address until the final Latin affirmation. Noel Dermot O'Donoghue discusses this in his article, "St. Patrick's Breastplate":

> We are in a different prayer-world from that of the directness of the Lord's Prayer and of thousands of Christian prayers in the same direct vocative mood. Neither are we in the world of the Psalms, or of the Old Testament prophets who contend with the Lord face to face. Yet the more indirect invocational mode of prayer shows through, especially in Job and the Wisdom Books. . . .[9]

O'Donoghue's comments about the lack of face to face encounter appear at first to contradict the idea of God as immanent. Indirect encounter does not, however, preclude the believer experiencing God as actively present. Here again we see a God who is at once both transcendent and immanent. God's active presence (in the form of protection) is called upon, but this powerful God is not addressed directly (until the end of the "Breastplate").

Indirect address is thoroughly in keeping with an understanding of human partnership or co-creation with God. Although God is beyond human beings in power and majesty, the believer or 'child of God' is permitted to tap into God's power by making a request indirectly and trusting that God will respond. Indirect address is both an affirmation of God's transcendent power, and contact with God's active presence.

• Spatial Prepositions •

Another use of language which sheds light on how the believer experiences God is the use of prepositions indicating direction or spatial relation. In many texts, the

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[9] Noel Dermot O'Donoghue, "St. Patrick's Breastplate," in *An Introduction to Celtic Christianity*, ed.James P. Mackey (Edinburgh: T & T Clark Ltd., 1989), p. 50.

pray-er uses phrases which give clues as to the perception of his/her relation to God. In order to explore this, I examined the use in CG of the following 16 'spatial' prepositions: about, above, against, around, before, behind, below, beneath, between, down, downwards, over, under, upon, upward/s, within.[10]

After looking at the words in context, it became clear that a few texts contained several of the prepositions. These texts can be called 'caim' texts for they include verses which fall into the compassing tradition mentioned before. Four of the texts use four lines which are very similar to each other—almost formulaic: "God over me, God under me, / God before me, God behind me, / I on Thy path, O God, / Thou, O God, in my steps." (194; II, 159) In 572; V, 287, the lines are virtually identical, but the sequence of lines one and two is reversed. In 575; V, 297, the sense is still the same: "God before me, God behind me, / God over me, God beneath me, / God within me, God without me, / The God of marvels leading me."

These three texts are all described as auguries (divinations): 194; II, 159 and 572; V, 287 are titled "Augury of Mary," and 575; V, 297 is simply called "Augury." The fourth text, 321; III, 319, is called "Charm for Fear by Night." Its first verse is very similar to the opening lines of the two "Augury of Mary" texts, and the third verse of "Augury." The fact that these four 'formulaic' lines are not the opening lines of "Augury" might be explained by the fact that its first two verses describe going to the door in order to perform the augury. In any case, these four lines seem to be used in a formulaic way to introduce the prayer in these texts.

In addition to the four preceding texts, and "Finger Compassing" (603; V, 403, which was quoted in regard to 'question and answer' indirect address), there are four others which use a large number of spatial prepositions to make a compassing. The first text, "The Guardian Angel," uses the prepositional phrases to surround the believer with **guidance**. The pray-er asks her guardian angel to keep her when she floats on the "sea of unrighteousness," and to guide her: "Be thou a bright flame before me, / Be thou a guiding star above me, / Be thou a smooth path below me, /

[10] Prepositions are notoriously difficult to translate in Gaelic as in other languages. So, my comments about the English texts may not always accurately reflect the meaning of the Gaelic texts. I would welcome a word study of the Gaelic 'spatial' prepositions in reference to God.

And be a kindly shepherd behind me, / To-day, to-night, and for ever." (18; I, 49) As is so often the case, the images used in the prayer are ones with which the prayer would have been intimately familiar: the stormy sea, navigating rugged terrain on dark nights, herding sheep. In this text, the image is varied along with the prepositional relationship to the pray-er. In a "Blessing" (277.29; III, 209), the image remains constant, and it is only the prepositions which change: "The shape of Christ be towards me, / The shape of Christ be to me, / The shape of Christ be before me, / . . . behind me, / . . . over me, / . . . under me, / . . . with me, / The shape of Christ be around me / On Monday and on Sunday. . . ." This repetitive formula is a memorable, straightforward way to pray for compassing.

The last two texts worth mentioning with regard to the use of multiple prepositions are two blessings. "Invocation of the Graces" (278; III, 213) is the shorter of the two, with 41 lines. Almost all of these lines are contained in some form in "Charm of Grace" (279; III, 217). This is the second longest verse text in CG, having 122 lines. "Charm of Grace" has 29 four or five line stanzas, most of which contain repetitions of blessings or protective prohibitions for the subject of the prayer. Several of these verses use spatial prepositions or adverbs:

> The form of God is behind thee, / The form of Christ is before thee, /
> The stream of Spirit is through thee, / To succour and aid thee.
>
> The bloom of God is upon thee, / The bloom of Christ is upon thee, /
> The bloom of Spirit is upon thee, / To bathe thee and make thee fair.
>
> Grace is upwards over thee, / Grace is downwards over thee, /
> Grace of graces without gainsaying, / Grace of Father and of Lord....
>
> [221] The crown of the King is around thy head, /
> The diadem of the Son is around thy brow, /
> The might of the Spirit is in thy breast: /
> Thou shalt go forth and come homeward safe.
>
> Thou shalt journey upward / And come down again, /
> Thou shalt journey over ocean / And come again hither. . . .
>
> The shield of Michael is over thee. . . .
>
> [225] Thither nor hither, / Earth nor land, /
> Here nor yonder, / Down nor up,

> Above nor below, / Sea nor shore, /
> In the sky aloft, / In the deep beneath.
> (279; III, 217-225. Emphases added.)

The pray-er seems determined to cover any eventuality, and uses the prepositions to express the complete surrounding of the subject of the prayer by God's protection. One gets the feeling that the pray-er believes that if he/she forgets to mention some form of injury, or person who might wish harm to the subject of the prayer, that it might transpire. Like a 'loop-hole' in a contract, the pray-er wants to avoid a prayer 'loop-hole' through which some evil might pass. It is interesting to note that not only is God all **around** the subject, the Spirit is "through" and "in" his/her breast. God's Spirit is indwelling as well as immanent.

In general, the use of juxtaposing spatial prepositions or adverbs such as above/below, upwards/downwards, over/under does not express an oppressive hierarchy where God looms over the sinful believer in harsh judgement. While God is just and powerful, this God who is "above" or "over" humans is usually called upon for protection, guidance, and blessing (echoing the themes in the collection as a whole.) For instance, while heaven is definitely "above" or "up" and God is often spoken of as being "above," and the earth is "below" or "down," this hierarchy is not absolute. God is often invoked to be "below" the pray-er, or a blessing is asked on the "earth beneath my feet." (e.g., 270; III, 179. 271, III, 181. 331; III, 339.) There does not seem to be an understanding of God being restricted to being "above." These references also reflect the pray-er's environment, where the ground—with bogs and cliffs—was often difficult to navigate.

There is one text which uncharacteristically contains an idea of God coming "down" and "subduing" a sinful world:

> O Holy Spirit of greatest power, / Come down upon us and subdue us; / From Thy glorious mansion in the heavens, / Thy light effulgent shed on us. . . . // Without Thy divinity there is nothing / In man that can earn esteem; / Without Thyself, O King of kings, / Sinless man can never be. (244; III, 89)

The English text sounds as if it could have been said in any nineteenth century congregation, Gaelic or English speaking. It is unusual in CG for a prayer to use only

the first or third person **plural**, because most of the CG prayers are for use by an individual (even if he/she might be praying for or with others). This text sounds as if it would be prayed in a gathering. Unlike most of the texts in CG, it sounds 'clerical.'[11] Although there is rhyme in the Gaelic, only two of the verses (five and six) use the kind of repeating imagery which brings such beauty to most of the CG translations. Diarmuid O'Laoghaire points out that this text is actually "an incomplete and free version of the *Veni Sancte Spiritus*. . . ."[12] So, the text **is** a form of one used in the liturgical setting, by clergy. It bears noting, then, that this uncharacteristic imagery of God coming down and subduing "us" is contained in a text which has its origins outside Gaeldom. (Other texts drawn from the liturgical tradition will be discussed later in this chapter.)

• Individual prepositions •

It is worth making a few comments about some of these 16 prepositions (or adverbs) individually.[13] As might be expected, most of the references to God being "about" the believer, concern an encompassing protection. One recurring image is the invocation of God's protection about someone's head (and other bodily references):

> God shall take to thee, / Surrounding thy two feet, / His two hands about thy head. (276; III, 197)
>
> Be the helmet of salvation about thine head, / Be the corslet of the covenant about thy throat, / Be the breastplate of the priest upon thy breast. . . .[14] (137; II, 37)
>
> The Three be about thy head, / The Three be about thy breast, / The Three be about thy body. . . . (281; III, 229)

It is tempting to speculate that the importance of protection of the head by God

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[11] Other texts which use a plural voice are 5, 6 and 7; I, 15-25. There is no reciter given for 244; III, 89, but the reciter listed for 5, 6 and 7; I, 15-25 is Donald Munro Morrison. Carmichael says in the notes for "God be with Us" (5; I, 14), that Dr. Morrison heard these texts from an old couple with whom he lived as a child in Harris. The fact that the reciters are a couple explains the exclusive use of the plural 'voice.'

[12] Diarmuid O'Laoghaire, "Prayers and Hymns in the Vernacular," in *An Introduction to Celtic Christianity*, ed. James P. Mackey (Edinburgh: T and T Clark Ltd., 1989), p. 294.

[13] For a complete list of texts using the following in reference to God, see Appendix 4.2: about, above, against, around, before, behind, below, beneath, between, down, downwards, over, under, upon, upward/s, within. I did not examine "from," "in" or "with" because the frequency of their use made analysis impractical and less profitable.

[14] cf. MacKenzie, *Incantations*, p. 142.

echoes the head cults of the early Celts, where a person's power was believed to be located in his head. Warriors who captured and kept the heads of victims were said to take on the power of the slain person.

There are several references to the "powers" (188; II, 137) or "saints" (142; II, 49) or "the Three" (245; III, 93) who are "above." Most of these are called upon for guidance and protection. In "Christ the Priest Above Us" (68; I, 161), the Christ who is priest above us is also the one who suffers/ed for us: "To-night, the night of the cross of agony, / The cross of anguish to which Christ was crucified. / Christ the Priest above us." The image of Christ being the priest above us is not used here as a judgmental cleric who dwells distantly above. The transcendent "King of glory" in this text is also the little infant who nestles in Bride's lap. The hills, seas, and angels herald him who is the "Gift." (68; I, 161)

"Against" is usually employed to ask God to protect the believer "against" the evil eye, disease, or other harmful influences. Often a long list of things is given from which protection is needed:

> The fair spell that lovely Mary sent, / Over stream, over sea, over land, / Against incantations, / against withering glance, / Against inimical power, / Against the teeth of wolf, / Against the testicles of wolf, / Against the three crooked cranes, / Against the three crooked bones, / Against the three crooked 'creothail,' / And against lint 'leothair' [?long lint] of the ground. (143; II, 53)

> The charm made by Fionn son of Cumhall / For his own sister dear, / Against rose, against pang, against reddening, / Against surly creatures of the mountain; / Against the fairy elfin arrows, / Against elfin arrows charmed, / Against piercing arrows of fairy host, / Against harassing arrows on the journey; / Against great creeping monsters, / And against gnawing cranes (?). . . . (442; IV, 191)

In these prayers, and others like them, we see that the world of these texts contained much to fear. There were malevolent people and powers which only the strong power of God could ward off. God's power could be accessed through a "charm" handed down by a holy person, or by appealing directly to God: "Two made to thee the withered eye, / Man and woman with venom and envy, / Three whom I will set against them, / Father, Son, and Spirit Holy." (146; II, 59) (Agency will be discussed at length in the next chapter.)

The use of "around" invariably is for the protective compassing of God. Sometimes this compassing is expressed in the form of God's "arm" being "around" the subject of the prayer (see below for anthropomorphism). For example, in "The Chant of the Warping": "Place thou Thine arm around / Each woman who shall be waulking it, / And do Thou aid her in the hour / Of her need." (109; I, 297)

"Before" (when used in the 'spatial' rather than 'temporal' sense) often refers to guidance. Images such as a flame (18; I, 49), light (39: I, 93) and smooth way (266; III, 171) are invoked "before" the believer to guide him/her. "Behind" is almost always used in combination with other prepositions to encompass the believer with protection (e.g., 18; I, 49. 279; III, 217. 321; III, 319.) As mentioned before, "below" is both used in a sense of hierarchy: "May God lift me up from the state of death, / . . . From the earthly state of the world below / To the holy state of the high heavens." (247; III, 101); and in non-hierarchical ways, "The Three Who are over me, / The Three Who are below me, / . . . The Three Who are in the earth, / . . . The Three Who are in the heaven. . . ." (245; III, 93)

"Beneath" is often used with images of shielding protection. For example: "Sain us beneath Thine own glorious mantle. . . ." (13; I, 37) "Jesus beneath the shelter of Thy shield." (30; I, 75) "Shield my loved ones beneath the wing of Thy glory." (73, I, 183) The idea of shielding protection is also prevalent in the use of "between." Just as the believer hopes to be sheltered beneath God's protection, he/she often places God between harm and him/herself.

> If there be ill-will or ill-wish concerning me, / Christ be between me and it. . . . (155, II, 75)

> Be Thou between me and all things grisly, / Be Thou between me and all things mean, / Be Thou between me and all things gruesome / Coming darkly towards me. (241; III, 81)

> Be the eye of God betwixt me and each eye, / The purpose of God betwixt me and each purpose, / The hand of God betwixt me and each hand, / The shield of God betwixt me and each shield, / The desire of God betwixt me and each desire, / The bridle of God betwixt me and each bridle, / And no mouth can curse me. (233; III, 57)

Again we hear echoes of the lorica tradition with God being invoked as a shield between the believer and harm.

There are about 19 texts in which the believer asks God's protective presence when he/she lies down. This use of "down" is considered to be a part of the verb and so is not included in this index. The other uses of "down" often involve a petition by the pray-er that blessing or protection be "poured" (12; I, 35. 117 &118; I, 319-325), "sprinkled" (50; I, 115. 109; I, 297) or "distilled" (243; III, 87) down from above. Other texts include God "coming down" from on high:

> [Christ] Coming down with acclaim / From the Father above. . . . (16; I, 45)
>
> Ye three angels of power, / Come ye, come ye down. . . . (62; I, 147)
>
> Come, Brendan . . ./ Come, Ternan . . ./ Come, Michael valiant, down. . . . (93; I, 259)

These texts seem to imply that God and the saints were believed to dwell above. This is, of course, a widespread Christian belief. As stated before, this understanding does not preclude the presence of God "down" on earth: "Who are those down on the floor? / John and Peter and Paul. / On whom is the vigil to-night? / On the fair gentle Mary and on her Son." (86; I, 239) The adverb "downward/s" is consistent with the use of "down." The three relevant times it is used in the English translations concern God's protection coming 'downwards': "Be the cross of Christ to shield us downward. . . ." (74; I, 189); and "Grace downwards over thee. . . ." (278; III, 213 and very similar wording in 279; III, 217.)

The use of "over" includes the idea of sheltering protection, but also the acquisition of the power of God or elements in creation by the believer. The images of shielding are similar to those used with "beneath": "Spread thy wing over us, shield us all . . . " (75; I, 193. and another use of "wing" in 259; III, 145); "watch over" (83; I, 233 and 255; III, 125); "shade of Christ over" (161; II, 91); "Christ's shelter over" (276; III, 197); "Spread over me Thy linen robe; / Shield me from every famine . . . " (241; III, 79); "cowl of Columba over thee . . . " (246; III, 97); and "shepherd over" (13; I, 37. 273; III, 191. 335; III, 347). A text simply entitled "Prayer" in Volume III combines several images of God's protection "over" and "unto" the petitioner:

> Mayest Thou be chieftain over me, / Mayest Thou be master unto me, /

> Mayest Thou be shepherd over me, / Mayest Thou be guardian unto me, / Mayest Thou be herdsman over me, / Mayest Thou be guide unto me, / Mayest Thou be with me, O Chief of chiefs, / Father everlasting and God of the heavens. (335; III, 347)

There is a kind of balance in this prayer (despite its highly masculine imagery) between the recognition of God as master and guide. A **good** shepherd or even chieftain has power and control over the flock or people, yet uses this only for the well-being of their charge. Names for God will be discussed at greater length later in this chapter, but at this juncture it is noteworthy that images of God's power "over" human beings are caring, custodial ones, and in this text are combined with images of God as guardian and guide "unto" the believer.

The other important use of "over" in CG concerns the believer taking on the power of God or of an element from creation in order to have "power over" something. In "Exorcism of the Eye" (141; II, 45) and "Charm for Chest Seizure" (480; IV, 257) the pray-er claims the power of many elements of nature over the ailment. In the two 14-line stanzas in these texts we hear echoes of the fourth stanza of "St. Patrick's Breastplate"[15] in which the realm of nature is called upon for help just as the Trinity and the saints and angels are. In "Exorcism" the pray-er claims power over the evil eye ("it"), and in "Charm for Chest Seizure" the pray-er personifies the ailment:

> Power of moon have I over thee, / Power of sun have I over thee, / Power of rain . . . / dew . . . / sea . . . / land . . . / stars . . . / planets . . . / universe . . . / skies . . . / saints . . . / heaven have I over thee, / Power of heaven and power of God have I over thee. . . . (480; IV, 257)

In "St. John's Wort" (165; II, 97) and "St. Columba's Plant" (166; II, 99) the source of power is much more specific: one plant; and its use much more general: over all the believer sees. Carmichael says in his notes introducing these two texts, that the plant known by many names including St. John's Wort and St. Columba's Plant was used "by the people to ward away second-sight, enchantment, witchcraft, evil eye, and death, and to ensure peace and plenty in the house, increase and prosperity in the fold, and growth and fruition in the field." (165; II, 96) In these two

[15] For a translation see O'Donoghue, Breastplate, pp. 45-63.

texts, the pray-er picks the plant saying a prayer acknowledging the power and significance of his/her actions. The plant is a gift from God to be used by the believer as has been "ordained":

> I will cull my plantlet, / As a prayer to my King, / That mine may be its power / Over all I see. (165; II, 97)
>
> I will pluck the leaf above, / As ordained of the High King. . . . (166; II, 99)

The use of "under" is very similar to that of "beneath" discussed earlier. The recurring images are ones of being "under" God's protection. For example: "And I under the protection of my Holy Mary . . . " (70; I, 175); "I am under the shielding / Of good Brigit each day . . . " (264; III, 163); "Alone I am under the wing of the Rock . . . " (512; IV, 347). Of the prepositions or adverbs being discussed in this section, "upon" is used in more texts than any other. It is usually employed in conjunction with a request for blessing. For example: "Prosperity be upon this dwelling . . . " (57; I, 135); "Pour upon me Thy grace!" (232; III, 55); and "May the taste of mild honey be upon thee / And upon every word thou speakest. . . ." (280; III, 227) Just as there are prayers for blessing upon people and things in CG, so too are there a few curses in CG. In many of the prayers against the evil eye, the pray-er reverses the 'eye' back on to the person who cast it:

> Whoso made to thee the eye, / May it lie upon himself, / May it lie upon his house . . . / flocks . . . / substance . . . / fatness . . . / means . . . / children . . . / wife . . . / May it lie upon his descendants. (143; II, 53)

Unlike these examples of reversing a curse in 'self-defense,' there are very few texts with straightforward curses in CG. It has already been mentioned why this may be the case: Carmichael's desire to portray the Highlanders in a positive light. The main way prayers for punishment of the wicked, or curses, make their way into the volumes of CG is in the form of songs which tell a story, and are not texts in which a believer speaks with his/her own voice. These texts are in Volume V: 520; V, 11-15. 545; V, 151-3. 563; V, 247-9. 589; V, 365-7. The one exception to this omission of straightforward curses in the voice of the pray-er is in a Hogmanay song in Volume I. After giving some verses of blessing, Carmichael interjects notes which say that if the

guisers are not treated well, they

> tramp loudly, shaking the dust of the place off their feet, and intoning with a deep voice the following and other maledictions— / The malison of God and of Hogmanay be on you, / And the scath of the plaintive buzzard. . . . (66 notes and verse; I, 157)

The guisers continue cursing the person with the "scath" of various unsavory creatures. It is difficult to tell from Carmichael's description how seriously such a curse may have been taken by the guisers or the 'victim.' Judging from the number of texts which attempt to treat or prevent the evil eye in CG, there seems to have been a great deal of belief in the power to wish someone ill.

"Upward/s" is used both to surround a person "upward and downward" with God's protection (e.g., 74; I, 189. 278-9; III, 213-25), and to indicate the direction in which the pray-er turns to God: "Let my supplications and my prayers / Ascend to Thee upwards. . . ." (4; I, 13); "Be mine eye upward / To the gracious Father of blessings. . . ." (311; III, 297) This is in keeping with the perception that God is 'above' us, yet not limited to that or any other space.

The last of the prepositions/adverbs is "within." It is not used in reference to God very often. Its first relevant occurrence is in regard to death and the pray-er's hope to enter heaven: "Give to us, O God, the home of salvation / Within the beauteous gates of Thy kingdom." (348; III, 387) The two references which fit into an understanding of God's immanence around us and **within** us are found in Volumes IV and V. In the long, beautiful text entitled "Melodious One of the Mountains," the young girl who has regained her lost sanity sings a last song to her lover before dying: "O Christ, ere I am laid in the tomb, / Place Thou the power of Thy righteousness within me [dhomh]." (510; IV, 331) In the only one of the 'caim' texts mentioned earlier which includes "within," the pray-er says: "God within me [steacham], God without me, / The God of marvels leading me." (575; V, 297) The frequency of the preposition "in" made it impractical to do a word study of its use. Without claiming too much from these few instances,it seems that there are at least a few texts which reflect an experience of God "within" the person.[16]

[16] 575; V, 297 is the best example since the Gaelic "steacham" clearly means "in or within" unlike the more ambiguous "an tuair'm dhomh" which could also mean "put . . . in my direction."

• Conclusions: Spatial prepositions •

As stated previously, the 'spatial' prepositions and adverbs just discussed most commonly refer to God's protection and/or guidance. Often several different prepositions are used in the same repetitive text to 'encompass' the subject of the prayer with the care and protection of God in what can be called 'caim' texts. The believer creates a limen between him/herself and the thing feared. God's presence is a shield, a breastplate, between the believer and harm.

• Anthropomorphism of God •

Many of the texts in CG contain anthropomorphic statements about God. By anthropomorphisms of God, I mean statements about God which speak of God in terms of the human form, e.g., God is described as having a face, eyes, and knees. There are many kinds of anthropomorphisms of God. The attribution of any human characteristic to God is also a form of anthropomorphism (emotions such as anger, or activities such as walking, sleeping, etc.). This section focuses on "bodily" anthropomorphisms, i.e., images that speak of God having a human body. Although anthropomorphism of God is by no means unique to CG in the Christian tradition (it can be found time and again in scripture), it is an important way for the pray-er to express an experience of God. Anthropomorphism does not necessarily mean the experience is one of loving care, e.g., "Indeed the Lord's own hand was against them, to root them out from the camp, until all had perished." (Deut. 2: 15) In CG, however, virtually without exception the bodily anthropomorphisms are not of judgement or wrath, but of care and protection.

• Eye and face •

The three most common anthropomorphic images for God in CG are the eye, hand and arm. Fifteen texts speak of the protective gaze of the eye of God.[17] This is expressed using various names for God, often in the same text:

> The eye of the great God be upon you, / The eye of the God of glory be on you, / The eye of the Son of Mary Virgin be on you, / The eye of the Spirit mild be on you, / To aid you and to shepherd you; / Oh the kindly eye of the Three be on you, / To aid you and to shepherd you.

[17] 15 texts mentioning the eye of God: 1; I,3. 12; I, 35. 67; I, 159. 233; III, 57. 243; III, 87. 266; III, 171. 277.4; III, 201. 277.20; III, 205. 277.35; III, 211. 316; III, 307. 372; IV, 31. 428; IV, 155. 429; IV, 157. 433; IV, 169. 503; IV, 307.

(277.4; III, 201)

The eye of God is portrayed as the eye which does not look in harsh judgement, but to guide and protect. In a similar text which Carmichael said was used by men as they greeted the sun in the morning, the sun is seen as God's eye, and the face of God. Again, the image is one of providential care:

> The eye of the King of the living, / Pouring upon us / At each time and season, / Pouring upon us / Gently and generously. // Glory to thee, / Thou glorious sun. / Glory to thee, thou sun, / Face of the God of life. (316; III, 307)

There will be more discussion about the agency or lack thereof of the sun and the moon in the next chapter, but this is an interesting use of an anthropomorphism together with a natural element.

In addition to the sun as the face of God, there are a few other references to God's face in CG. Two of them are the same image of a kind protector, but this time the sun is not explicitly mentioned.[18] The other is the one exception to the overall image of the kindly God spoken of in human metaphor. It is not surprising that the image appears in a lament, and asks God to avenge a murder by killing the murderers: "O King, sharpen now Thy face to them, / Crown Thou Thy will upon the assassins, / Keep now Thy sharp blade alive!" (588; V, 357) Although this image is not one of loving care of the murderers, it is in keeping with the understanding of God as protector. Many strands of the Christian tradition have believed that God not only blesses the righteous, but that God also punishes the wicked in this world. The call for God's justice to avenge a black deed is nothing new. It is, however, rare in CG. As stated before, this is no doubt because Carmichael wanted to paint a very positive image of the Highlander. Even though they are opposite sides of the same coin, curses and calls for God's vengeance are probably more prone to be interpreted as "superstitions" than are prayers for protection and blessing.

• Hand •

21 texts refer to the guiding or protecting hand of God. In six of these texts, it

[18] Two of the texts mentioning the face of God (no mention of the sun): 161; II, 91 and 294; III, 253.

is the right hand or "one hand" of God which is specifically mentioned.[19] The image of the right hand of God is deep within the Judeo-Christian tradition and scripture. The Psalms alone contain 23 references to the right hand of God.[20] Also, in the Apostle's Creed Christians confess that Christ "ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty. . . ." The texts in CG continue in this same tradition. For instance, in "The Sleep Prayer," the pray-er asks: "Be my soul on Thy right hand, O God, / Thou King of the heaven of heavens. . . ." (35; I, 85)

• Arm •

Similar to the anthropomorphic images of God's eye, face and hand, God's arm is without exception an image of protection in CG. There are 17 texts which refer to the arm of God supporting and surrounding the pray-er with love and care.[21] In a 40-line prayer for protection, the final four lines are a good example of this tender image: "May the fragrant Father of heaven / Be taking charge of my soul, / With His loving arm about my body, / Through each slumber and sleep of my life." (247; III, 101) Four of the prayers include references to the saints' arms as well. One such text consists of three stanzas with three "arms" mentioned in each. Very much in keeping with the caim tradition, the blessing ends with the image of the arms of the Trinity surrounding and protecting:

> The arm of Mary Mother be thine, / The arm of Brigit of flocks be thine, / The arm of Michael victorious be thine, / To save thee from all sorrow. // The arm of Apostle John be thine, / The arm of Apostle Paul be thine, / The arm of Apostle Peter be thine, / To guard thee from all mischief. // The arm of the God of life be thine, / The arm of Christ the loving be thine, / The arm of the Spirit Holy be thine, / To shield thee and surround thee. (291; III, 245)

Again the image is one of both intimacy and protection, of God's immanence **and** transcendence. The strength of the Trinity's arm is clear: "to shield and surround thee." In addition to the personalities of the saints, Christ is "Christ the

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[19] Six texts mentioning God's right hand: 26; I, 67. 35; I, 85. 52; I, 119. 248; III, 103. 327; III, 329. 533.1; V, 99.

[20] 23 references to God's right hand in the Psalms: 16.8, 16.11, 17.7, 18.35, 20.6, 21.8, 44.3, 48.10, 60.5, 63.8, 77.10, 78.54, 80.5, 80.17, 89.13, 98.1, 108.6, 110.1, 118.15, 118.16, 118.16, 138.7, and 139.10.

[21] 17 texts referring to God's arm: 31; I, 77. 35; I, 85. 40; I, 95. 51; I, 117. 52; I, 119. 75; I, 193. 109; I, 297. 134; II, 31. 161; II, 91. 247; III, 101. 277.5; III, 201. 277.11; III, 203. 283; III, 235. 290; III, 243. 291; III, 245. 347; III, 383. 510; IV, 333.

loving," and God is the "God of life."

• Mouth, lips and voice •

God is portrayed as speaking or blessing with mouth, lips or voice in several CG texts.[22] In the smooring texts 85, 86 and 87; I, 237-41, there are several lines regarding God's mouth which are similar to each other:

> The mouth of God ordained, / The angel of God proclaimed, / An angel white in charge of the hearth. . . . (85; I, 237)
> The mouth of God said, / The angel of God spake, / An angel in the door of the house, / To guard and to keep us all. . . . (86; I, 239)
> The mouth of God ordained, the angel of God spoke; / Angels of promise watching the hearth. . . . (87; I, 241)

This text is yet another example of God seen as transcendent and immanent. God is powerful **and** caring enough to ordain an angel to watch over the hearth of the believer. God is imaged as the one who speaks the command and it is so. In this case, an agent—the angel—is the expression of God's power. As will be discussed in Chapter Five, we see an image of the Sovereign God who orders creation benevolently, with agents to assist the believer.

A tender image of intimacy with God can be seen in a prayer to heal a sprain. In it, the pray-er invokes the power and love of the kisses of the Trinity and of the saints as she acts:

> Soothing and salving / In the strength of the sweet kisses / From the mouth and the lips / Of the Three clement and kind. // [213] Soothing and salving / In the sign of the sweet kisses / From the mouth and the lips / Of the Three tender and mild. // Soothing and salving / In the shield of the sweet kisses / From the mouth and the lips / Of the musical choir of the saints. (461; IV, 211-213)

It is difficult to imagine a turn of the century "minister of the Kirk" using this kind of language in a prayer. It is not too surprising that the reciter listed for this text is a woman. One thinks of the adage that "mother will kiss it and make it better." This text seems to be in the same vane. The prayer is said in the strength, the sign, and the shield of God's kisses. So, although a gentle image, these kisses hold power.

Lastly, there is a short two-line text referring to thunder as the voice of God. Carmichael Watson puts it under the same heading as some notes and a 27-line text

[22] 8 texts mentioning God's mouth, lips, or voice: 7; I, 23. 85; I, 237. 86; I, 239. 87; I, 241. 241; III, 83. 302; III, 273. 461; IV, 213.

celebrating "God of the elements." The short text itself does not say that thunder is the voice of God, but Carmichael Watson gives it the title, "Thunder": "The voice of the great God, / And none is great but He." (302; III, 273) Like the sun as the face of God, this is another intersection between anthropomorphism and natural elements. The role of the natural elements will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter.

• Ear, Heart, Head •

A few short words are in order about some anthropomorphisms of God which are **rare** in CG. The ear of God is only used once in CG in the traditional request: "God, listen to my prayer, / Bend to me Thine ear. . . ." (4; I, 13) Many texts refer to human heads in CG, but none to the head of any member of the Trinity.

Lastly, there are two texts which speak of the smile of God. In "The Day of Death," the weather is an indicator of God judgement of the person who died. When there is a calm sea, "The King's joyful glance and smile / Are to the feeble one down on ocean." (342; III, 369) In the very first verse text in CG, the prayer asks God to "Bestow upon us fullness in our need, / . . . The smile of God. . . ." (1; I, 3) This could be interpreted as being the favorable judgement of God, or a taking on of that divine attribute. In either case, the smile of God seems to represent positive regard.

• Incarnation: body and blood, heart, mind, feet, form •

Like the broader Christian tradition, images of the Incarnate Christ in CG reflect the ultimate expression of God's immanence. The images of body and blood related to God in CG are all allusions to Christ and the cross, with one exception—there is one reference to Magnus as the "fragrant body of grace." (72; I, 179) Carmichael's introductory notes for this text briefly tell the story of Magnus (c. 1075-1116) who is venerated as a martyr and is a principal saint of Orkney, Shetland, and Northern Scotland.[23]

In "Melodious One of the Mountains," the use of body and blood is a clear Eucharistic image: "Though I was forlorn, / Hunger came not near me,/ For Christ's Body was my food, / The Blood of Christ, it was my drink." (510; IV, 335) The other three references to Christ's body are all concerning the crucifixion.[24] One

[23] "Magnus," *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 1978 ed.

[24] Three texts concerning Christ's body on the cross: 240; III, 77. 272; III, 185. 511; IV, 343.

intriguing prayer invokes the cross and the resurrection in a prayer for protection:

> As the King of kings was stretched up / Without pity, without compassion, to the tree, / The leafy, brown, wreathed topmost Bough, / As the body of the sinless Christ triumphed, // . . . May God bless all that are before thee. . . . (272; III, 185)

It is interesting that the crucifixion is emphasized more than the resurrection in this protection blessing. The power of God's sacrifice is appealed to in order to protect. This is also in keeping with a view of the bread and cup as the most sacred objects in the world. What plant or saying could be more effectual than the body and blood of Christ? The prayer states: "May God bless thy crucifying cross / In the house-shelter of Christ, / Against drowning. . . ." (272; III, 185) The "cross" in this case is probably the "Gospel of Christ." It is described in the notes as a slip of paper on which a word or verse from the Gospels was written and worn to protect from harm ("gospels" will be discussed further below). Carmichael does not mention a cross in relation to 'gospels,' but James Kirkwood does in his *A Collection of Highland Rites and Customes* (ca. 1699):

> The Charm they write on a piece of paper, the words are intermingl'd with Crosses. It is hung about the neck of the person affected. They call this charm the Gospell.[25]

There are nine texts in which the reference is to the redemptive or salvific power of Christ's blood.[26] For example: "I believe . . . / That Thou hast purchased my soul with the precious blood of Thy Son. // [45] . . . I am giving Thee humility in the blood of the Lamb." (228; III, 43-45) Three texts use the image of Christ's blood to ask for protection,[27] e.g., " . . . mayest Thou shield me in the blood of Thy love." (238; III, 71) Lastly, there is one text in which " . . . Christ of the Holy Blood" (16; I, 45) is praised, and one in which the aspen tree is cursed because it was the wood of the cross where " . . . His blood in streams [was] down pouring." (169; II, 105)

Lastly, the Gaelic word 'cruth' is translated as shape and form in CG. It is used

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[25] Kirkwood, p. 66.

[26] Nine texts referring to the redemptive or salvific power of Christ's blood: 7; I, 23. 26; I, 67. 31; I, 177. 35; I, 85. 41; I, 97. 175; II, 115. 228; III, 41. 240; III, 77. 255; III, 119.

[27] Three texts which refer to Christ's blood in asking for protection: 33; I, 81. 238; III, 71. 330; III, 337.

in four blessings.[28] In keeping with the caim tradition, the form of God and Christ is invoked to surround the object of the prayer with blessing and protection. Related to this are references to Christ's heart and mind. There are many texts which include language about the human heart and mind, but only one text mentions the heart of God: "The gentle encompassing of the Sacred Heart / To make round my soul-shrine this night . . . " (39; I, 93); and one mentions the mind of Christ: "Christ stands before thee and peace is in His mind." (347; III, 385) Both of these are surrounding and shielding prayers in the caim tradition.

There are five texts which refer to the foot or feet of Christ.[29] Three of these emphasize the Incarnation with a vivid image of Christ's birth: "Born is the Son of Mary the Virgin, / The soles of His feet have reached the earth, / The Son of glory down from on high, / Heaven and earth glowed to Him. . . ." (56; I, 133) The image is at once majestic and familiar. The "Son of glory" has tiny feet whose soles touch the earth. **Both** heaven and earth glowed at his coming.

In a rather obscure text about the naming of the "Red-Palmed" plant, it is so named by Christ for "The right palm of God the Son / And His left foot." (177; II, 117) This appears to be a reminder of the wounds inflicted on Christ on the cross. When examined together, the two images from these different texts balance the Incarnation with a reminder of the crucifixion.

All these texts referring to God's incarnation in Jesus show a recognition of the power involved in that act. There is also a reliance upon the suffering and sacrifice of the Incarnate One on the cross. God was willing to sacrifice the Son, and so, believers recall that sacrifice and ask this in the name of the cross, e.g., "May no wrong come unto me, / Through the crucifying-tree of Christ. . . ." (330; III, 337) This attention to the Incarnation and the Crucifixion exhibits a belief in the God who was one of us, who dwelt among us, and who suffered and died for us. This God is transcendent in power but very close to our experience. His feet touched the earth, his blood ran down the aspen tree, he knows our pain and will protect us. Once again,

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[28] Four texts with the shape/form of God: 23; I, 59. 277; III, 201. 278; III, 213. 279; III, 217.

[29] Five texts mentioning the foot or feet of Christ: 55; I, 127. 56; I, 133. 177; II, 117. 252; III, 111. 277; III, 201.

we see the immanent, powerful God.

• References to the saint's bodies •

There are many times in CG that anthropomorphic images of God's arm, hand, etc. are combined with references to the physical bodies of the saints. Again, agency of the saints will be discussed in the next chapter, but so many physical metaphors for the presence of the saints are used in the same texts as anthropomorphisms that it is worth mentioning some of them at this time.

The Gaelic word 'uchd' is translated both as 'breast' and as 'bosom' in CG. There are nine texts which refer to Mary's breast.[30] Some are mentioned in prayers to cure a swollen breast. Five of them refer to the Christ child " . . . on her breast." Mary's role as the mother of Jesus is emphasized in these texts. Carmichael clearly translated uchd as bosom if it was in reference to God. All seven appearances of the word 'bosom' appear in Volume II, usually as a closing for a healing prayer or the picking of a healing plant.[31] The phrase which is always used is "from/through the bosom of. . . ." For example, in "Charm for the Eye" the believer places the 'charm,' "From the bosom of Peter and Paul, / . . .From the bosom of Father, / From the bosom of Son, / From the bosom of Holy Spirit." (144; II, 55) The image of the word or plant coming from or through the bosom of God seems to give it authority. It is interesting that there are no examples of the believer seeing his/herself being cradled in the bosom of God. The phrase usually employed for this image is one of the arm or hand holding the believer.

The knee has strong associations with childbirth in CG. The mid-wife is alluded to as the knee-woman because Highland women sometimes gave birth kneeling on their right knee. There are five texts which refer to Mary or Brigit going on her knee,[32] again emphasizing the motherhood of Mary, and Brigit's role as mid-wife/foster-mother (and, by extension, emphasizing the humanity of Jesus). For

[30] Nine texts referring to Mary's breast: 58; I, 139. 60; I, 143. 61; I, 145. 122; II, 3. 123; II, 5. 196; II, 167. 253; III, 115. 255; III, 125. 347; III, 383.

[31] Seven texts referring to the bosom of God: 131; II, 19. 132; II, 21. 144; II, 55. 152; II, 69. 158; II, 77. 178; II, 119. 188; II, 137.

[32] Five texts with Mary or Brigit going on her knee: 58; I, 139. 60; I, 143. 197; II, 167. 198; II, 169. 470; IV, 239.

example: "It was Mary fair who went upon her knee, / It was the King of life who went upon her lap. . . ." (197; II, 167)

There are two texts to counteract the evil eye which speak of three apostles at God's right knee:

> Peter and James and John, / . . . By the right knee of God the Son. (146; II, 59)
> Peter and Paul and John, / . . . At the right knee of God the Father, / At the right knee of God the Son, / At the right knee of God the Spirit. . . ." (436; IV, 173)

This is perhaps an extension of the concept of Christ seated at the right hand of the Father Almighty, or the righteous 'sheep' put on God's right at judgement (Mt. 25.31-3). It seems unlikely that this image is related to the birthing image.

In addition to the texts mentioned above which refer to God's hand, there are five more in which the saints' hands are mentioned.[33] In one of these prayers, the pray-er envisions the hands of the saints and Christ around her: "The hand of Bride about my neck, / The hand of Mary about my breast, / The hand of Michael laving me, / The hand of Christ saving me." (23; I, 59) Note the maternal image of the two women cradling the pray-er, while Michael washes and Christ saves her.

One curious text for "Thwarting the Evil Eye" invokes 12 eyes to counteract the evil eye: "Twelve eyes against every malice, / Twelve eyes against every envy, / . . . every purpose, / . . . every hope, / . . . every intent, / . . . every eye, / The twelve eyes of the Son of the God of life. . . ." (433, IV, 169) Carmichael says in the notes that he does ". . . not know what this represents unless it be the Twelve Apostles." (433 notes; IV, 169) This seems to be a good guess. There is another reference to the eyes of apostles, but this text has nothing to do with counteracting the evil eye. In the beautiful text "Thou Black Cock," a woman who has regained her lost sanity says that, even in the midst of her ordeal, God's presence was near: "A glance that I cast behind my back, / Enfolding guardians saw I at my helm, / Peter and Paul and John the Apostle, / Their eye to the south, in converse close." (511; IV, 343) Every other use of the number twelve in CG verse texts refers to the apostles.[34]

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[33] Five texts mentioning saint's hands: 23; I, 59. 74; I, 187. 160; II, 87. 342; III, 369. 420; IV, 135.

[34] Four references to the 12 apostles: 37; I, 89. 160; II, 89. 247; III, 99. 351; III, 395.

These physical metaphors for the presence of the saints, either with anthropomorphic images of God or standing alone, are another example of the way in which God is experienced as being close to the believer. The physical images both reinforce the human connection with the saints, and puts the the presence of the saints in intimate terms.

• Conclusions: Anthropomorphism, and physical metaphor •

What does the use of anthropomorphic imagery say about the pray-ers' experience of God? This sort of language expresses a kind of intimacy with God, who, although supremely powerful, is not so unlike the believer. The believer uses bodily language to refer to God's presence because human beings are made in the image of God, and God is present with us. Although God is totally beyond us, we speak of God in terms of things that we know—in human terms. Of course, the Incarnation of God in Jesus Christ is the perfect example of this divine intimacy with the human form. In the Incarnation, anthropomorphic metaphor becomes physical reality. The Incarnation gives the believer permission to speak of God in human terms, though the Hebrew scriptures speak of God's 'back,' 'hand,' 'anger,' etc. long before the birth of Jesus. Through anthropomorphic imagery, the believer speaks of the transcendent God in immanent terms.

• LANGUAGE FROM TRADITION •

The prayers in CG did not appear in a religious vacuum. Although there are characteristics which make the collection distinctive, it is by no means totally removed from the influence of broader Christian traditions. The residents of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland in the nineteenth century were mostly non-literate. Nevertheless, the prayers in CG contain many references which show a familiarity, even intimacy, with scripture and liturgy of which any literate culture would be proud. The place of scripture and liturgy in the life of nineteenth century Highlanders is a broad area needing more research. In this thesis, it will have to suffice to make a few observations about particular CG texts and whether they manifest connections with scriptural and liturgical traditions.

• Scriptural allusion •

The language in CG includes several kinds of scriptural allusion. First, there are general references to scriptural events which are central to the Christian faith, like the birth of Christ, his death and resurrection. There are also many names for God which reflect scripture.[35] Third, there are allusions to stories and characters from the Bible which are not as common as the central events listed above. Lastly, certain passages in CG use language which almost paraphrases scriptural passages—some of the English translations in CG are strikingly similar to certain passages from the English translations of the Bible. Two lists of some examples of these last two kinds of scriptural allusion follow. First, passages which refer to less well known scriptural stories and, second, CG texts which almost paraphrase scripture.

Carmina Gadelica:	Compare to Scripture passage:
46; I, 107 Give to me the wedding garment	Mt. 22.11 f. he noticed a man there who was not wearing a wedding robe. . . .
62; I, 147 Dry ye His feet / With the hair of your heads. . . .	Lk. 7.38 She ...began to bathe his feet with her tears and to dry them with her hair.
81; I, 225 We shall be obedient the while, / All who will hearken.	Mt. 11.14-15 (and others) . . . and if you are willing to accept it, he is Elijah who is to come. Let anyone with ears listen!
119; I, 329 and similar 120; I, 331 Who brought the Children of Israel through the Red Sea. . . . And Jonah to land. . . . Who brought Paul and his companions in the ship. . . . When the storm poured on the Sea of Galilee. . . .	Several, see below Exod. 10.19 Jon. 2.11 Acts 27 Mt. 8.23 f.
201; II, 173 Illumined the whole globe together, When the Son of God came to earth.	Jn. 1.9 The true light, which enlightens everyone, was coming into the world.
202; II, 177 Rather would He have the genuine prayer / And water from the eyelids flowing swiftly.	Ps. 51.17 The sacrifice acceptable to God is a broken spirit; a broken and contrite heart you will not despise.

[35] Names for God will be discussed in detail later in this chapter.

Carmina Gadelica:	Compare to Scripture passage:
232; III, 55 Keep me in good estate, / Better than I know to ask!	Eph. 3.20 Now to him who . . . is able to accomplish abundantly far more than all we can ask or imagine. . . .
255; III, 121 [In reference to the Virgin Mary] My heart is content / To kneel at thy foot-stool. . . .	Lk. 10.39 She had a sister named Mary, who sat at the Lord's feet and listened to what he was saying.
436; IV, 175 As Christ removed the sleep / From the little son of the grave. . . .	Jn. 11.17 f. (and elsewhere) Lazarus had already been in the tomb four days. v. 44: The dead man came out.
466; IV, 227 [In the notes] and she will place the spittle upon the blind eye in the name of the God of life. . . .	Jn. 9.6 f. [Jesus] spat on the ground and made mud with the saliva and spread the mud on the [blind] man's eyes. . . .
481; IV, 259 Jesus Christ bade Simon Peter / To fill His own people. . . .	Jn. 21.15 f. Jesus said to Simon Peter . . . "Feed my lambs. . . ."
510; IV, 333 Though mine were the world / And all the wealth upon its surface, / . . . I would give them all away / If but the Father of salvation / Might with His arm encircle me.	Mt. 16.26 For what will it profit them if they gain the whole world but forfeit their life? Or what will they give in return for their life?
588; V, 357 Keep Thy promise to the wicked, / Bare the edge of Thy sword, / Press against the people of rapine! [etc.]	Ps. 35.2-3 Take hold of shield and buckler, and rise up to help me! Draw the spear and javelin against my pursuers. . . . and/or Ps. 37.14-15 The wicked draw the sword... to kill those who walk uprightly; their sword shall enter their own heart. . . .
591; V, 375 O Thou who wast crucified above the others. . . .	Lk. 23.32 f. Two others also, who were criminals, were lead away to be put to death with him. . . . they crucified Jesus there with the criminals. . . .
'Paraphrasing' scripture:	
60: I, 143 I am the Son of God in the door . . . / I am in the door, open thou. . . .	Rev. 3:20 Listen! I am standing at the door knocking; if you hear my voice and open the door, I will come in to you. . . .

67; I, 159 God, give me a clean heart, / Let me not from sight of Thine eye. . . .	Ps. 51.10-11 Create in me a clean heart, O God . . . Do not cast me from your presence. . . .
137; II, 37 Be the helmet of salvation about thine head, / Be the corslet of the covenant about thy throat, / Be the breastplate of the priest upon thy breast, / To shield thee in the battle and combat of thine enemies.	Eph. 6.10 f. Put on the whole armor of God, so that you may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil. . . . Stand therefore, and fasten the belt of truth around your waist, and the breastplate of righteousness. . . . take the shield of faith. . . . Take the helmet of salvation. . . .
193; II, 155-157 The wicked who would do me harm / May he take the (throat) disease. . . . [God saved me] From the net of my breakers / And destroyers.	Ps. 35 v. 4: Let them be turned back and confounded who devise evil against me... v. 8: And [may] the net that they hid ensnare them. . . .
195; II, 165 Blessed art thou, Mary, / Among the women of all lands. . . .	Lk. 1.42 Blessed are you among women. . . .
201; II, 173 I am a poor clattering cymbal, / In my youth I was profane. . . .	I Cor. 13.1 and 11 v.1: I am a noisy gong or a clanging cymbal. v. 11: When I was a child, I spoke like a child. . . .
213; II, 209 The darkness of night is to [Mary] as the brightness of day. . . .	Ps. 139.12 . . . the night is as bright as the day, for darkness is as light to you.
273; III, 191 He will not forsake thee hand or foot, / Nor let evil come anigh thee.	Ps. 91 (same general content throughout) v. 12: For he will command his angels concerning you . . . so that you will not dash your foot against a stone.
279; III, 219 Thou shalt travel a rough ground / And shalt not redden thy foot: / Jesus is guarding thee. . . .	Ps. 91.12 (and others) you will not dash your foot against a thou stone. You will tread on the lion and the adder. . . .
349; III, 391 That I may make repentance / With a heart broken and contrite. . . .	Ps. 51.17 The sacrifice acceptable to God is a broken spirit; a broken and contrite heart, O God, you will not despise.
461; IV, 209 (Many ref's to Jesus' acts) He made glad the sad and the outcast, / ...He made free the bond and the unruly, / ...He opened the eyes of the blind. . . .	Lk. 4.18f. (Is. 61.1 etc.) . . . because he has anointed me to bring good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim release to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind.

'Paraphrasing' scripture continued

511; IV, 343 The sky did awake and the earth did tremble, / The grey heavy-bodied ocean was rent, / The star darkened and the wave roared, / When the body of the Son of God was torn upon the cross.	Mt. 27.45 and 51f. (and other accounts) v.45: From noon on, darkness came over the whole land... v. 51: At that moment the curtain of the temple was torn in two from top to bottom. The earth shook, and the rocks were split.
570; V, 281 (in prose account) Where thou art, there shall I be, and where thy home is, there shall my home be, and where thy people are, there shall my people be. . . .	Ruth 1. 16 Where you go, I will go; Where you lodge, I will lodge; your people shall be my people, and your God my God.
577; V, 309 The son of the hound and the son of the lamb / Lying down on the same field. . . .	Is. 11.6 The wolf shall live with the lamb, the leopard shall lie down with the kid. . . .
587; V, 347 Beloved was my sweetheart, / Beauteous branch of the the clustering locks, / More fragrant than cinnamon / To me the breath of thy mouth.	Song 7.6f. How fair and pleasant you are, O loved one, delectable maiden! ...Oh may your breasts be like clusters of the vine, and the scent of your breath like apples. . . .

This list is not exhaustive, and there is sometimes a fine line between allusion and paraphrase. These examples should show, however, that whoever **composed** these texts (whether literate or not) had a significant knowledge of scripture. It is not clear whether the reciters who **used** these prayers would have known that some texts allude to scripture. Carmichael has one relevant reference to a reciter named William Maclean who was a 'gillie' and game keeper: "He had his big Bible open before him, from which he said he derived much comfort." (469; IV, 237) So, even though most of Carmichael's reciters were no doubt non-literate, that was not always the case.

Incidentally, in *A Collection of Highland Rites and Customes*, Kirkwood (d. 1709) mentions the physical use of a Bible in effecting a cure for fitful sleep: "For cure of this they clap a Bible frequently on their Faces. *viz. they let the leaves fly with their thumbs and this they call Gy rwin leabhair* [Gaoth roimh'n leabhar]."[36] In his notes regarding this account, John Lorne Campbell cites two instances which support it:

[36] Kirkwood, p. 66. Italics are notes probably added by the Rev. John Beaton. In brackets are John Lorne Campbell's notes.

> Martin describes how his Bible was borrowed on Colonsay to fan the face of a patient suffering from a fever, p. 248. Fr. Allan McDonald tells how this was done to cure a person of having second sight. . . .[37]

It is difficult to say how these scriptural allusions came about. Was it through the reciters' familiarity with scripture? If so, how did the reciter learn scripture: in church with clergy? in English or Gaelic? through apocryphal/traditional stories and songs, etc.? Or is the text part of a long oral tradition, and it was it a composer centuries earlier who knew scripture well? These important questions are outside the remit of this thesis. It is important to note, however, that the collection as a whole contains a considerable amount of material which is taken loosely or almost verbatim from the canon of Christian scripture. So, although the collection contains material which may have its origins in pre-Christian religion, there is also a great deal which can be traced to Christian tradition and scripture.

• CG and the Psalms •

The similarity between the language of CG and of scripture is particularly close in the Psalms. Many of the texts which paraphrase scripture do so from the Psalms, and other prayers simply sound like Psalms, even if they are not alluding to or paraphrasing them. The Psalms, like CG, contain many texts which employ indirect address, and also many prayers for protection. In addition to the similarity of language and theme, the Psalms and CG have other aspects in common. They are both collections of verse texts which were at one time sung and many of which are prayers. In the case of the Psalms, they were probably sung in liturgical settings rather than the personal, everyday settings of most CG texts.

A good example of the similarity between the language and themes of some of the Psalms and some CG texts can be found in comparing Psalm 91 and "The Gospel of the God of Life." (273; III, 191) The two texts both have God's protection as their theme. In Ps. 91, the speaker celebrates how God will protect the faithful "who live in the shelter of the Most High. . . ." (v.1), and "The Gospel . . . " is invoked to protect the subject of the prayer from all manner of dangers. The first line of "Gospel" reads: "The Gospel of the God of life / To shelter thee, to aid thee. . . ."

[37] J.L. Campbell in Kirkwood, editor's notes, p. 69.

Note the sheltering image at the outset of both texts. Both texts next list the various things from which the believer will be protected. Ps. 91: terror of the night, arrow by day, pestilence in darkness, and destruction at noonday. "Gospel": malice, dole and dolour, all spite, evil eye and anguish. Next, Ps. 91 states that,

> Because you have made the Lord your refuge . . . no evil shall befall you. . . . For he will command his angels concerning you to guard you in all your ways. On their hands they will bear you up, so that you will not dash your foot against a stone. (Ps. 91 from v. 9-12)

This is very similar to the final stanza of the "Gospel":

> Christ Himself is shepherd over thee, / Enfolding thee on every side; / He will not forsake thee hand or foot, / Nor let evil come anigh thee.

Note the form of address is now the same in the two texts, the speaker is reassuring the believer that God will protect him/her. The form of address and theme are also alike in Ps. 91.13 and the third stanza of "Gospel." In them, the speaker tells what the believer will be able to do. In the case of Ps. 91, it is trampling on the lion and the adder (implicitly without harm.) In "Gospel," the believer will travel hither and thither, hill and headland, down and up, ocean and narrow (again, implicitly without harm).

There are, of course, differences between Ps. 91 and "Gospel." The Psalm concludes with a stanza spoken by God reassuring the faithful of God's protective presence, and the CG text does not contain a section in God's voice. Ps. 91 is over twice as long this version of "Gospel" (273; III, 191). Despite these differences, the similarities are still striking. The basic idea of each of the four stanzas of "Gospel" are contained in similar order in Ps. 91. This comparability between the texts does not necessarily mean that the composer of the CG text used Ps. 91 as a model, but it is significant. Whether or not it is intentional, a good number of the CG texts echo scripture. As such, they are part of a stream which has its source in many hills, one of which is a familiarity with scripture.

- **Language from denominational liturgical/devotional traditions** •

In addition to scriptural allusion, some texts in CG contain explicit references to material from the liturgical or devotional traditions of the broader Roman Catholic or Protestant churches. By 'broader' traditions, I simply mean material which would

have been used by people beyond the Highlands and Islands. Not all the material referred to would have been used in a liturgical setting, hence the inclusion of 'devotional' in the description. These references are significant in this thesis because, like allusions to scripture, they give insight into the world of these prayers. The pray-ers of CG did not relate to God purely as individuals. They participated in communities of faith. The CG texts which refer to material from the broader denominational traditions show that the pray-ers did not live in some kind of 'new age religious purity,' isolated from the 'pollution' of the influence of the broader Church.

Like the role of scripture in the lives of nineteenth century Highlanders, the historical influence of liturgy and denominational devotional traditions on the oral and written literature of the Gael is an extensive and intriguing subject. Once again, to stay within the confines of my thesis and my area of expertise, many of these questions must be left for others to explore. It is hoped, however, that highlighting some of the liturgical/devotional denominational material in CG will assist the research of others.

• "Gospel" •

The language which was written on slips of paper for use as an amulet, or 'Gospel' was not always taken from scripture. Carmichael does not go into great detail about the different kinds of 'Gospels,' so at this point it is helpful to look at some of the comparable material gathered in the nineteenth century and earlier. In his *A Short Treatise of the Scotish-Irish Charms and Spels,* Robert Kirk (d. 1692) provides the text for

> The charm against the palsie and falling Evil, writen in paper, and ty'd about the patients neck.
> In nomine patris et Filij et spiritus sancti, amen. dirupisti Domine vincula mea, tibi sacrificabo Hostiam Laudis sed nomen Domini invocabo, nomen Jesus Nazarenus Rex judeorum, Titulus Triumphalis, Defendas nos ab omnibus malis, Sancte Deus, Sancte Fortis, Sancte et immortalis, miserere nobis † Heloj † Heloj † atha [atonatha, p. 113] † Messias † ∑other Immanuel † Pathone † Sabaoth † Tetragammaton † on † eon † a thonay † alma † avala † Throne † Emmanuel.[38]
>
> [My translation] In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, Amen. Lord, you broke my chains. To you I will make a

[38] Kirk, p. 110, and another almost identical text p. 113.

> sacrifice of praise, I shall call upon the name of the Lord and the name of Jesus of Nazareth, King of the Jews, triumphant inscription. May you defend us from all evils, Holy God, Holy Strong One, Holy and immortal God, have mercy on us † Eloi [Aramaic: "My God . . ." from Christ on cross, Mk. 15.34 (and Ps. 22.1)] † Eloi † immortal [atonatha sic. αθανοτος?] † Christ/Messiah † Saviour Immanuel † Suffering One [pathone sic. παθος?] † Sabaoth [Lord of Hosts] † Tetragrammaton [sacred four letters YHWH for Yahweh in Hebrew] † Being [on sic. ων?] † eternal † immortal [see above; or Adonai] † Kind [usually refers to Mary because it is feminine] † [? sic for Agla[39]] † Throne [one of the nine choirs] † Emmanuel.

Clearly, words from different languages are jumbled together. There are, however, several fascinating references. The line "Sancte Deus, . . . miserere nobis" is a direct quote from the Good Friday mass.[40] The Latin lines are preceded by the same line in Greek in the liturgy, this may explain the inclusion of both the mistaken atonatha for the Greek athanatos (immortal), and the beginning of Christ's cry from the cross. The fact that many of the references concern the crucifixion might give added meaning to the reference to such written talismans as "crosses," not merely because they have crosses drawn on them. So, although some of the words are incorrect or enigmatic, a theme of Christ's crucifixion emerges. Also, the sacred four letters is one of the most revered words in any language.

Macbain gives a Latin text from the MacLagan MSS which is written on a piece of paper which was actually worn as an amulet.[41] Unlike the text above, however, this one contains no liturgical phrases. It is a folkloric/traditional account of Jesus healing Peter's toothache.

In the late John Lorne Campbell's excellent editorial notes for Kirkwood's *Collection*, he recounts an interesting letter concerning 'gospels' from a young Roman Catholic priest named Archibald Chisholm to his bishop. Fr. Chisholm wrote from Glencoe on 31 January, 1840,

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[39] "*Agla* . . . is formed from the initial letters of the Hebrew words [meaning] . . . 'Thou art powerful and everlasting, Lord'. This magical caballistic word when uttered aloud, facing the east, was most potent in exorcising evil spirits, and was in use down to the sixteenth century not only by Jews but also by Christians for recovering lost property and obtaining news of friends in distant lands, even the appearance of the absent." R. I. Best, "Some Irish Charms,"*ÉRIU* 16 (1952) 27.

[40] *Missale*, "Feria VI in Passione et Morte Domini" (Rome: Ad Sanctae Sabinae, 1965), p. 136. Many thanks to Gilbert Markus for pointing out this reference.

[41] Macbain, *Incantations*, p. 252.

> saying that about a dozen Protestants had applied to him within the past fortnight for gospels. "The fact is, however, that I am ignorant of how a gospel is given, to whom it should be given, and under what conditions it should be given, as I can find no mention of this practice in any of my books."[42]

This short account tells the reader several things. The practice survived until the mid-nineteenth century, (this is also when Carmichael began collecting) and was employed by Protestants. It is not surprising that the young priest could find no instruction in his books. One wonders what the bishop's reply was. Did he encourage, instruct, tolerate or disallow the priest to create and bless the 'gospels'?

So, it appears that the words which were used for the written prayer amulet may have come from several sources: scripture, liturgy/priests, and folkloric/traditional accounts. Whatever the source, it is evident that the written word wielded power for the believer. Even if they could not read or write, or **because** they could not, the written word held a mysterious power. Wearing these potent written words on the person was another way to participate in God's created order—to use the gift of powerful prayers for protection.

• The Rosary or "Paidir," Lord's Prayer, Credo •

CG has numerous references to "pater."[43] 'Pater' (Gaelic: paidir) can mean the praying of the rosary, or it can refer to the Lord's Prayer (whose first word in Latin is pater.) It is not always clear in the texts which refer to "pater" that the pray-er actually means the recitation of the rosary, or even of the Lord's prayer. The OED gives as its second definition for 'paternoster': "Any form of words repeated or muttered by way of a prayer, imprecation, or charm. . . ."[44] Of course, this definition may not necessarily apply to the references in CG, but in some cases it seems to.

There are, however, several references which indicate that certain liturgical texts (creeds or prayers) were actually recited, not simply referred to by name within a prayer. In three prose accounts by reciters, they refer to the use of prayers from the

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[42] Kirkwood, p. 68.

[43] 15 verse texts or prose accounts which mention 'pater,' Creed, or rosary: 48; I, 111. 129; II, 17. 137; II, 37. 140; II, 43. 241; III, 79. 246; III, 95. 256; III, 127. 343; III, 370. 431; IV, 163. 435; IV, 171. 438; IV, 179. 466; IV, 227. 475; IV, 247. 491.1; IV, 280. 491.8; IV, 284.

[44] *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 1989 ed.

institutional church. In the introduction to "Charm of Protection," Catherine MacNeill from Barra says: "The man around whom the charm should go recited Credo and Pater Noster and the Prayer of Mary Mother." (246; III, 95) In an account about death and purgatory, an unnamed reciter says: "The Creed and the Pater Noster and the Ave Maria are recited when the man kneels and prays for the passing soul." (343; III, 370) Lastly, in introducing "Charm for the Evil Eye" a reciter from Benbecula says:

> Thou shalt kneel on thy two knees and thou shalt say thy two Credos and thy Pater Noster in the sight of the God Who created thee, in the love of the Christ Who purchased thee, in the heed of the Spirit Who cleansed thee. (435; IV, 171)

Given the geographical location of these reciters (and the subject matter of the account by the unnamed reciter of 343; III, 370), we can assume that they are probably Roman Catholic. This is by no means to say that Protestants would not have used the Lord's Prayer, the Nicene and Apostle's Creed or even the Hail Mary. The fact that many of CG's reciters are from areas which had few Roman Catholics has already been discussed in Chapter 2. Simply because a text mentions or praises Mary does not exclude the possibility that its reciter was Protestant. The many Protestants who went to Fr. Chisholm shows us that the line between "Roman Catholic" and "Protestant" is not always clear. William MacKenzie has a comment which reinforces this point in his paper "Gaelic Incantations":

> Another Skye remedy [for the evil eye] was the sign of the cross. . . . This practice prevailed till recent times, and may still be observed by old persons—a very significant survival of Catholic times in a purely Protestant district.[45]

Carmichael adds almost incidentally in his notes for "Checking of Blood" that, "Some of the runes are prefaced by the Lord's Prayer, others by the Apostles' Creed." (491.1 notes; IV, 280) It is interesting that all of the CG prose references to pater or creed previously cited are in volumes which Carmichael did not edit. It could be that Carmichael's perception of clerical participation in the destruction of Gaelic culture led him to keep these references out of the volumes he published, or perhaps it is just a

[45] MacKenzie, *Incantations*, p. 135. MacKenzie also cites several examples of the use of the "Hail Mary" in the article on pages 104, 118, and 138. See below.

coincidence.

These explicit references to the use of the pater, creed or Hail Mary in CG prose accounts are reinforced by the references **within** verse texts to their use. "Prayer to Jesus" begins:

> I say the prayer from my mouth, / I say the prayer from my heart, / I say the prayer to Thee Thyself, / . . . Together with Pater and Credo, / The Prayer of Mary thereafter, / And thine own Prayer, O Son of the God of grace. . . . (241; III, 79)

This text is similar to one later in Volume III, this time entitled by Carmichael or Carmichael Watson, "Praise of Mary." With 102 lines, this is one of the longest texts in CG. It is feasible that "Prayer to Jesus" is a modification of the Marian prayer of devotion which has the following comparable opening:

> I say the prayer / That was given with anointing / To the Mary Mother / Of Joy; // Along with Pater and Credo, / The Prayer of Mary besides, / And the Prayer of God's Son / Of the Passion. . . . (256; III, 127)

No reciter is listed for the "Prayer to Jesus," but the reciter given for "Praise of Mary" is from Beoraidh, Morar which had a significant Roman Catholic population in the eighteenth and, it is presumed, nineteenth centuries.[46] It would seem that the different references to texts are as follows: "the prayer . . . given with the anointing" = Hail Mary; "Pater" = the Lord's Prayer, or the entire Rosary; "Credo" = the Apostle's Creed; "The Prayer of Mary" = "Hail, Holy Queen"; "the Prayer of God's Son" = The Lord's Prayer, or "O God, whose only begotten Son. . . ."

In addition to these references to the names of denominational liturgical or devotional prayers, CG includes the "Hail Mary" as one of its texts.[47] Diarmuid O'Laoghaire mentions this and some of the other material in CG which is taken from the Latin liturgy in his article in *An Introduction to Celtic Christianity*:

> There is a free version of the *Ave Maria* (CG[48] I, pp. 110-111), a much freer version of the *Salve Regina* (id. [47; I,] pp. 108-9), an incomplete and free version of the *Veni Sancte Spiritus* (CG [244] III, pp. 88-9), a beautiful and greatly expanded version of the *Memorare*, consisting of twenty-six quatrains, the whole almost entirely in litanic form (CG [255] III, p. 118-25).[48]

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[46] See Mary MacHugh, "The Religious Condition of the Highlands and Islands in the Mid-Eighteenth Century," *The Innes Review*, 35, No. 1 (Spring, 1984), 11-22.

[47] "Hail to Thee, Mary": 48; I, 111.

[48] O'Laoghaire, p. 294.

In Appendix 4.3, there is a listing of modern English translations of these prayers with the CG English texts for comparison. It would seem that if Carmichael and Carmichael Watson had realized that these texts were from the broader denominational tradition, then they would not have included them in the collection because they are not compositions originating in the Gaelic. Or, if they had intentionally included them, that they would have noted their origin. As Protestants, and not particularly church-going ones, it is not surprising that they show no signs of recognizing the less cross-culturally-known texts (*Salve Regina, Veni Sancte Spiritus,* and *Memorare*) The inclusion of the "Hail Mary" without any introduction indicating a recognition of its origin is at first surprising. When one considers that during Carmichael's time, the "Hail Mary" would have been spoken in Latin in the liturgical setting (if Carmichael had ever been to a Roman Catholic mass), one can see the room for ignorance. Carmichael entitles the CG text "Hail to Thee, Mary." The English translation is not exactly the same as the familiar 'official' version, but it is clear that it is the "Hail Mary." Incidentally, the reciter is listed as being from Barra.

William Mackenzie includes the Gaelic text of the "Ave Maria" in his paper, but he lists it as such, and he seems to know that it is a liturgical prayer.[49] He does not translate it. The version in his paper, taken from "an old Uist lady," differs slightly from the one in CG. Mackenzie comments in a footnote that there were other versions, some of which began as the CG version does, with "Failte dhuit, a Mhoire. . . ." (The version in Mackenzie begins "Beannaichear dhut, a Mhoire. . . .") Despite the slight variations, it is clear that all these texts are versions of the "Hail Mary" used by Roman Catholics all over the world.

• Seachd Paidir / Seven Paters •

Of the fifteen CG texts or introductory notes which mention the pater or creed, five speak of the **seven** paters/rosaries and one refers to the nine rosaries.[50] The Gaelic word 'seachd' can mean the number seven, 'perfect,' or 'thoroughly.'[51] In

[49] Mackenzie, *Incantations*, p. 104.

[50] Five texts referring to seven paters: 129; II, 17. 137; II, 37. 140; II, 43. 431; IV, 163. 491.8; IV, 284. 9 rosaries: 438; IV, 179.

[51] Carmichael mentions this in his Volume II notes, p. 347 under 'seachd.'

these texts, the pater references are sometimes counted out one to seven. So, even though the pater may be the "perfect prayer," it is also sometimes repeated seven times. Today, the rosary is not usually recited in groups of seven. It is possible, however, that the association of seven with the rosary comes from the Franciscan practice of meditating on the "Seven Mysteries" rather than in decades or groups of fifteen.[52]

The "seven paters" are mentioned in several different kinds of prayers in CG: two texts to counter the evil eye (plus one text referring to the nine rosaries), two to cure bursting vein or flowing blood, and another is a prayer for protection in battle.[53] (CG, Macbain and Mackenzie each have examples of prayers for protection in battle called 'sian' which refer to the 'seven paters.'[54])

Rather than having specific ailments or problems in mind, Robert Kirk discusses the "seachd phaidir" as an 'all-purpose' introductory and concluding prayer:

> But in the more usual charms of cure . . . a general prayer composd of some incoherent tautologies . . . is used befor and after, called the *seachd phaidir*, or seventh and perfect prayer, (set down hereafter). . .
>
> [p. 110] The General prayer or pater noster, called Seachd phaidir, repeated in way of preface and conclusion to every remarkabl charm. Mary is first placed, The Pater Noster of Mary, one, the P.N. or prayer of my King. two, of Mary, 3. of the King 4. of Mary 5. of the King. 6. the Seaven Seanings (or Salvations) to the Son of my King omnipotent.[55]

In CG's "Countering the Evil Eye" the paters do not alternate between Mary and "the King," but are all "Pater of Mary, one, / Pater of Mary, two, / [etc.] . . . seven. // The might of the seven Paters of Mary. . . ." (431; IV, 165) Mackenzie's paper contains two texts with seven paters.[56] In the second text, there appears to be an exchange of question and answer between the reciter and collector:

> The Pater of the Virgin Mary—one. [etc.] / . . . The Pater of the Virgin Mary—seven. / "What is the significance of the seven Paters?" / "The significance of the seven Paters is— / The fierce (running) of blood— /

[52] Thanks to Noel D. O'Donoghue for pointing this out.

[53] Macbain's paper contains 'seven pater' references in prayers for battle, curing the evil eye, sprain, toothache, and surfeit in cattle. Mackenzie, for battle and stopping blood.

[54] 137; II, 37. Macbain, *Incantations*, pp. 235-7. Mackenzie, *Incantations*, pp. 139-141.

[55] Kirk, *Spels*, pp. 109 and 110. Irregular spelling, I did not put "sic." by any of the errors.

[56] Mackenzie, pp. 139-141 and pp. 158-9.

(Blood) in anger, / Blood (flowing) red. / Thy blood will freeze; thy wound will close, / As Mary's dropped on Christ![57]

There are not even seven phrases in his response, so we cannot assume that he understands each pater to be related to each phrase. The reciter's enigmatic answer seems to say that the significance of the seven paters is that they cure! Such an answer is not a theological or linguistic analysis of the text, it is an affirmation of the belief in its efficacy.

In this text and in many others[58] there are internal references to "seven paters" with no indication that the rosary or Lord's Prayer was actually recited once, let alone seven times. There are a number of reasons why this might be the case. First, if the text is part of a long oral tradition, it could be that over time a prayer which was recited seven times initially, gradually became only a reference. It could also be that there was a belief in the power of the name of the prayer itself. Although there are references in the CG prose accounts and notes to the use of the "Hail Mary" and Creed before prayers for healing and protection, there are a significant number of examples of texts which simply refer to the "seven paters" without any actual recitation recorded. Could it be that it was too tedious for Carmichael, Mackenzie, and Macbain to preface all verse texts with, "After reciting the Creed or the rosary, the reciter said. . . ."? Perhaps the reciters viewed the Pater and Credo as so common in their lives that they did not include it when speaking with Carmichael and other collectors. It is sometimes the most common things that we overlook when speaking with others. Or did the passing of time cause the Pater, especially the seven perfect Paters, to be viewed as so powerful that merely invoking its 'name' was enough to effect a cure or provide protection? Like the names for God, and the names of saints, perhaps the name of this important prayer was seen as holding power.

• Texts which refer to clergy •

Like the allusions to scripture and liturgy, references to clergy in CG may shed a little light on how clergy affected the experience of God by the reciters of CG. In

[57] Mackenzie, p. 159.

[58] The CG and Mackenzie 'seven pater' texts already mentioned. Macbain, *Incantations*, pp. 235-7, 240-1, 248, 253-5, 265.

addition to the accounts mentioned in previous chapters (the priest riding a white horse and blessing the bannock on St. Michael's Day, and casting lots for fishing rights at the threshold of the church), CG contains only a few other references to clergy and the church. This again may be a result of a conscious or unconscious exclusion on the part of Carmichael, Carmichael Watson, and Matheson.

In his notes in Volume II, Carmichael mentions ministers three times, two are negative statements. First, crofters who supported Prince Charlie were evicted "in order to add their land to the already extensive lands of tacksmen, one of these being the parish minister." (II, 284) Second, "the wife of John Macaulay, minister of Lismore, . . . was much beloved in Lismore, and her husband the reverse." Old men described him as a "man obstinate, opinionative, dogmatic, domineering—all men wrong, he alone right." (II, 359). The third is an odd account regarding John Gregorson Campbell (whose collection of Highland "superstitions" was also published in 1900): "The late J. G. Campbell, minister of Tiree, held that a race similar to the Lapps lived in Scotland about the Glacial period." (II, 232) The one reference to a priest in the Volume II notes is a relatively positive one about a priest who assists in making the caim around a girl tempted by the water horse. (II, 240-241)

These brief references in the notes are not very important except in that they give a glimpse of Carmichael's perception of clergy. Priests seem less guilty of cultural sabotage than their Protestant counterparts in Carmichael's view. These views did not keep Carmichael from having many friends who were Protestant clergy. As was mentioned in Chapter One, at least six Protestant ministers attended his funeral in Lismore, some of whom travelled a long distance to be there.

Having put Carmichael's view of clergy in context, let us turn to the CG texts themselves which refer to 'priest,' 'cleric,' or 'church.' Only 19 texts (or introductions to texts) have such references.[59] Most of them tell us very little about actual clergy. For example, one is a reference to "Columba the Cleric" (423; IV,

[59] 19 texts or notes with reference to clergy or church: 50; I, 115. 70 notes; I, 173. 77 notes; I, 202. 113; I, 309. 137; II, 37. 138; II, 39. 149; II, 63. 174; II, 115. 191; II, 147. 198; II, 169. 201; II, 175. 296 notes; III, 257. 297 notes; III, 262-3. 343 notes; III, 371. 403; IV, 99. 423; IV, 141. 442 notes; IV, 190-91. 532; V, 71. 551.1 notes; V, 168.

141), another is talking about the rabbis sitting in the temple when Joseph enters (201; II, 175), others speak of the feast of the priest (149; II, 63), or breastplate of priest (137; II, 37).

There are a few references, however, which shed some light on the role of clergy in CG. Three of the Roman Catholic sacraments, and priests' performance of them, are mentioned. In the lay baptism prayer "The Baptism Blessing," the pray-er asks God to bless the child until that time "When the priest of the King / On him puts the water of meaning. . . ." (50; I, 115) This shows deference to the ordained cleric by the lay person performing a 'stop-gap' baptism, i.e., to protect the baby from fairies and other evil influence until the clerical baptism. The inclusion of this statement shows that the lay baptism was not seen by the pray-er as the ultimate one, "the water of meaning" would be by the priest. "Prayer before Confession" (296; III, 257) is described in the notes as being used by a family before going to confess to a priest. Here is a private, family prayer which ties in with the liturgical sacrament of confession. The third sacrament which is mentioned is in regard to death prayers. It is not explicit in the text or introduction that a **priest** must be the one to perform the confession and anointing, but it seems likely. Carmichael says:

> In the Roman Catholic communities of the west, 'bàs sona,' 'happy death,' is a phrase frequently heard among the people. When these words are used they imply that the dying person has been confessed and anointed, and that the death-hymn has been intoned over him. (343 notes; III, 371) [In the verse text, the pray-er refers to "Death of oil and of repentance. . . ."]

Another introduction to a text tells the story of a pilgrimage by Highlanders to see the Pope in Rome. The reciter, Duncan MacEachainn from Stilligarry, South Uist, was one of the pilgrims to speak with the Pope through the interpretation of Archbishop MacDonald. According to Carmichael, the Archbishop " . . . reported that the Pope was much impressed by the dignity, good sense, and good feeling of the simple crofter from the Western Isles." (442 notes; IV, 191)

In two prayers for the consecration of the cloth,[60] the pray-er states that the cloth " . . . is no second-hand cloth, / . . . It is not property of cleric, / It is not property of

[60] 113; I, 307. 403; IV, 99.

priest, / And it is not property of pilgrim." (403; IV, 99) This may refer to the practice of the clergy retaining a 'mort-cloth' to drape over the coffin. A charge was made for its use and the money went to the poor in the area.[61]

Like allusions to scripture and the use of liturgical texts, these occasional references to the clergy show us that these prayers were composed in a context. Even with the sifting of collection and editing, some references emerge that exhibit the influence of the institutional church.

• Boat blessing in John Knox Liturgy •

Although most of the uses of liturgical prayers are from the Roman Catholic tradition, there are two texts in CG which also appear in a Protestant liturgical source. The "Sea Prayer" (121; I, 333) is the last text in Volume I and a very similar version appears in *The Book of Common Order, Commonly Called John Knox's Liturgy* translated into Gaelic in 1567 by John Carswell.[62] Also, some of "Ocean Blessing" (119; I, 329) is similar to the closing of the *Book of Common Order* text which says (in the English):

> the one God who brought the children of Israel through the red sea miraculously, and brought Jonah to land out of the whale's belly, and brought the apostle Paul, and his ship, with the crew, out of the great tempest, and out of the fierce storm. . . .[63]

The CG text states:

> Who brought the Children of Israel through the Red Sea, / And Jonah to land from the belly of the great creature of the ocean, // Who brought Paul and his companions in the ship, / . . . From the gale that was great, from the storm that was heavy. (119; I, 329)

Martin Martin quotes the boat blessing from the *Book of Common Order* in his *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland circa 1695*.[64] Mackenzie mentions the boat blessing and its inclusion in the "John Knox Liturgy." He also states: "In the

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[61] Margaret Bennett, *Scottish Customs: From the Cradle to the Grave* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1992), pp. 197, and 212.

[62] John Knox, *The Book of Common Order*, trans. John Carswell, ed. Thomas MacLauchlan (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1873), pp. 240-1.

[63] Knox, p. 241.

[64] Martin Martin, *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland circa 1695*, ed. Donald J. MacLeod (Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd., 1994), pp. 186-9. This may be a reference to a blessing in the *Rituale Romanum* (first printed in 1614) "Benedictio navis" (Rome: Typis Societatis S. Joannis Evangelistae, 1935), pp. 351-52. Thanks to Gilbert Markus for this reference.

Ritual of the Church of Rome there is a Blessing for a New Ship— *"Benedictio Novae Navis"*— and this Blessing is regularly attended to in the Catholic part of the Hebrides."[65] It is interesting that the reciter listed for CG's "Ocean Blessing" (119; I, 329) is a shipmaster from North Uist (a primarily Protestant island), and the reciter for CG's "Sea Prayer" is also a shipmaster, but is from South Uist (which is primarily Roman Catholic). This is another example of the danger in assuming that certain text is "Protestant" or "Catholic."

• Names for God •

Perhaps some of the most telling language in any prayer is the name the pray-er uses to refer to God. There are a wide range of names for God in CG, and almost all of them have a scriptural basis. By obtaining an overview of the frequency of names for God in CG, it is hoped that some light may be shed on the dominant images for God. The significance of the use of any one particular name may not be great, but seen in the context of other names for God, observations can be made about the kinds of roles God plays in the prayers of CG. So, before discussing particular names, it will be helpful to list the prevalent names for God in the entire collection. The total number of texts in which each name appears is given in parenthesis. If there are less than three texts, the references are provided, otherwise, see Appendices 4.5 to 4.14 for listings of texts using the more frequently used names for God.

Names for God in *Carmina Gadelica*

1) First Person of the Trinity or whole Godhead (231 texts using "God")
   a) God of . . .
      I) life (39 texts, 66 occurrences; God/King/etc. "of life": 83 texts)
      II) (all) gods (6 texts)
      III) grace, glory, power, the powers, peace, truth, mercy, salvation, the Passion, might, goodness, every gift, guidance, love, marvels, virtues (8)
      IV) the elements, sun and moon, globe, stars, of all creatures (8)
      V) the poor, destitute, lowly, weak, waifs, naked, righteous, all peoples (24; I, 61-3. 41; I, 97. 241; III, 79-83.)
   b) Father (104) Father beloved; Father of: help, peace, verity, mercy, wisdom, Israel, the City of peace, the heavens, the waifs, the naked
   c) Lord (27)
   d) Being (19) Being of life (8), Being who inhabits the heights
   e) Creator (7)

[65] Mackenzie, p. 177.

2) Second Person of the Trinity (295 texts mention Jesu/s, Christ, and/or Son)
    a) Names indicating redemptive suffering
        I) Jesus/Christ/Son of . . . wounds, tears, sorrow, Pasch, Passion, blood, the tree, the cross (26)
        II) Lamb (12): Sacrificial Lamb of the garden, Lamb without blemish, holy blood of the Lamb)
        III) Sacrifice of truth (one text: 169; II, 105)
        IV) Forsaken illustrious One (46; I, 107)
        V) Holy Rood (532; V, 79)
        VI) Sacred Heart (39; I, 93)
    b) Christ (173)
        I) Christ of the people (62; I, 147)
        II) Christ the guileless (239; III, 73)
        III) Christ the Priest above us (68; I, 161)
    c) Son (169)
        I) Son of Mary, Virgin, etc. (44)
        II) Fosterson of Brigit (5)
        III) Son of God (34)
        IV) Son of . . . mercy, Life, my love, freedom, blessings, peace, redemption, Thy tranquility (16)
        V) Victorious Son (22; I, 57)
        VI) Son of David (two: 240; III, 77. 348; III, 387)
    d) Jesu/s (73)
    e) Saviour (8)
    f) Shepherd/Herdsman (9) Shepherd of: the flock, the people, the poor
    g) Anointed One (two: 25; I, 65. 86; I, 239.)
    h) the Gift on the living (three: 58; I, 139. 60; I, 143. 68; I, 161.)
    i) the Babe, the Child (three: 62; I, 147. 195; II, 163. 254; III, 117.)
    j) Prince (two: 149; II, 163. 286; III, 239.)
    k) Door of joy (56; I, 133)

3) Third Person of the Trinity (137) "Holy Spirit" or "Spirit Holy" (50)

4) Trinity (87)
    a) Trinity (19)
    b) the Three (68) Sacred Three, the laving/perfect Three of power, the Three Powers, the Three who shield us, Three-in-one, Three-one, Threefold true, Holy Threefold above, the Three of life
    c) Triune (18): the Triune of: grace, power, glory, my strength; Triune all-holy

5) King (137)
    a) of kings (17)
    b) High King (12)
    c) King of: glory, power, the elements, universe, mountains, sun, moon, world, heaven, City of heaven, deeds and powers above, the poor, of health, of ages, each good, grace, hosts, tenderness, the living, the Lord's Day, the blood of truth

6) Chief (9) Chief of chiefs (6)

7) Healer/Physician (11) Healer of healers, soul Healer, Physician of health, Physician of thy salvation, Physician Son of Mary, Healing Man

8) Miscellaneous
   a) Rock (6) Rock of: rocks, truth, the fold; wing of the Rock
   b) the Powers (6)
   c) Master, Faithful Brother of Helpfulness, Fountain of life to the righteous (241; III, 79)
   d) Holy One (two: 41; I, 97. 86; I, 239.)
   e) Judge (49; I, 113)
   f) Light (two: 330; III, 337. 509; IV, 323.)

To summarize this list: the second person of the Trinity, "Son/Christ/Jesu/s," is mentioned in the most texts, with 295, or about half of CG texts. "God" is mentioned in 231; the "Spirit" is in 197; God as "King" appears in 137; "Father" is used to refer to God in 104; and lastly, the "Trinity/Three/Triune" is in 87. The significance of some of these occurrences will be discussed below.

The use of the name "God" in 231 texts tells us very little because "God" (Dia or De in Gaelic) is one of the most general names for the deity. "God of life," however, is specific enough to reveal something about the experience of God in the collection.[66] This epithet is used with "God" in 39 CG texts, and in 83 texts as an epithet with "God," "King," or other name for the deity. "God of life" is a name which recalls God's role as creator, but also God's connection with the creation. Rightly or wrongly, forms of the Gaelic word "Dùl" are translated as "Creator" in Volumes IV and V.[67] This is the same word used in "Dhé nan dùl," sometimes translated as "God of life" in CG (e.g., 415; IV, 125) The Creator God is the God of all life, of creation, of living here and now.

Related to this prevalent name for God are the epithets of God/King/Son/etc. of the: elements (15 texts), sun (14 texts), stars (11 texts), heavens (nine texts), moon (eight texts), skies (four texts), globe (three texts), and planets (two texts). There are 40 texts which use such epithets a total of 77 times.[68] Ten of these texts also refer to

[66] For list of 83 texts using God/King/Being/etc. " . . . of life," see Appendix 4.4.

[67] God is referred to as "Creator" in seven texts: 106; I, 287(Chruithear). 228; III, 41(cruthadair). 277.18; III, 205 (cruthadair). 408; IV, 111 (Dùl). 470; IV, 239 (Dùil). 482; IV, 263 (Dhùl). 519; V, 7 (Dùile).

[68] For list of 40 texts with reference to God "of elements" etc., see Appendix 4.5.

the God of life.[69]

All these various occurrences mean that God is named in connection with life and/or creation in one out of every six CG texts. Clearly, this is an important image of God in the collection. By naming God as the God of the stars and elements, the believer is affirming God's transcendence. It may be helpful to examine one text in particular, recognizing that it differs from others, but also that it may exemplify some broader themes. "Prayer at Rising" is a relatively short prayer of 12 lines, but it exemplifies the use of names for God which emphasize God's transcendence, while appealing to God for protection. Since the text is rather brief, it is worth quoting in full before looking at it closely:

> Thou King of moon and sun, / Thou King of stars beloved, / Thou Thyself knowest our need, / O Thou merciful God of life. // Each day that we move, / Each time that we awaken, / Causing vexation and gloom / To the King of hosts Who loved us. // Be with us through each day, / Be with us through each night; / Be with us each night and day, / Be with us each day and night. (223; III, 29)

The opening of the prayer immediately states God's role as ruler of the elements: "King of moon and sun, / ..of stars. . . ." At the same time, it also establishes the believer's love and confidence in God's mercy. God is the King of stars beloved, who knows the pray-er's need, and is the merciful God of life. The second stanza is a confession of human sinfulness, saying that every day we cause "vexation and gloom / To the King of hosts Who loved us." After praising the King of the moon and sun who is also loving and merciful, and recognizing human sinfulness, the prayer ends with a petition asking God to "Be with us through each day, / [and] ...each night...."

In 12 short lines of verse, the pray-er moves through adoration and confession and into supplication. The pray-er both recognizes God's transcendence: "King of moon and sun," and requests God's immanence: "Be with us each day and night." The names for God in this prayer at first might seem to emphasize God's transcendence at the expense of God's close presence. "King of the stars" seems to be a remote patriarch who dwells far off. Yet, this is the "King of stars beloved" who

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[69] Ten texts referring to both God " . . . of life" and " . . . of heavens/sun/moon etc.": 83; I, 233. 197; II, 167. 198; II, 169. 223; III, 29. 228; III, 41. 234; III, 61. 241; III, 79. 280; III, 227. 342; III, 369. 588; V, 355.

knows our need, the "merciful God of life" (emphases added.) In this sense, this prayer is representative of many others in CG which use names for God which stress God's role as transcendent creator and yet also ask this God for protection and blessing. Once again we see that transcendence and immanence are complementary rather than contradictory.

In examining the central themes of the prayers which refer to God as God/King/Son of the stars, sun, elements etc., it can be seen that the two dominant themes are praise and protection. It makes sense that the believer who wishes to praise God will affirm God's role as creator and ruler of all that is. What could be more cosmic or vast in its proportions than stars and planets? God is the god of these. Why would one want to ask protection from a god who is not powerful? It is only because God is the transcendent God of stars and elements that the believer knows that God is powerful enough to answer prayers for protection.

• The Trinitarian Formula •

There is a significant use of the "Trinitarian formula" in CG (mentioned earlier in this chapter in reference to indirect address.) "Trinitarian formula" refers to **either** the following kind of section (often as a closing): "Thou, Father, who art kind and just, / Thou, Son, who didst overcome death, / Thou, Holy Spirit of power, / Be keeping me this night from harm; / The Three who would justify me / Keeping me this night and always." (29; I, 73); **or** an expansion of this by structuring sections of the prayer around the three members of the Trinity. There are 128 texts in CG which use the Trinitarian formula.[70] In 80 texts, the **only** reference to God is within the Trinitarian formula.[71]

Fatherhood, at its best, is a good image for the kind of strong and caring God we see in CG. It is not surprising, then, to learn that God is referred to as "Father" in 104 texts.[72] Upon closer examination, however, something interesting emerges: over two thirds of texts using "Father" to name God do so only as a member of the Trinity. On the other hand, 200 of the 295 prayers which refer to the "Son" or "Christ" or

[70] For complete list of 128 texts which use Trinitarian formula, see Appendix 4.6.

[71] For complete list of 80 texts which refer to God only in Trinitarian formula, see Appendix 4.7.

[72] For complete list of 104 texts which refer to God as "Father," see Appendix 4.8.

"Jesu/s" do so outside the Trinitarian formula.[73] Of course, the names "Father" and "Son" are inherently Trinitarian and relational, so that their occurrence in the Trinitarian formula is understandable ("Son" appears in the Trinitarian formula in about half of its occurrences). On the whole, Christ's role in the collection is less bound to the Trinity than the "Father."[74] As it often happens in the Christian tradition, references in CG to the "Spirit" are almost exclusively as a member of the Trinity. Out of the 137 texts which refer to the "Spirit," only 10 do so outside the Spirit's role as a member of the Trinity, in the Trinitarian formula.[75] Even references to the Trinity itself are bound to some extent to the use of the Trinitarian formula: only 28 of the 87 texts which refer to the "Trinity," "Three," or "Triune" do so outside the Trinitarian formula. [76]

All these statistics are simply to try to give the reader an idea of the relative frequency of some names for God, and in this case, their place beyond the Trinitarian formula. The use of the names indicates that the Son/Christ/Jesus is referred to most often in the collection. This frequent appeal to the Incarnate One is in keeping with an experience of God as immanent. As stated earlier, the Incarnation is the most vivid manifestation of God's immanence of all. In today's theological circles, the names "Jesus" and "Christ" are sometimes used to distinguish between the historical man who walked the earth, and the cosmic, eternal Son of God. This would be an anachronistic distinction to place upon the texts of CG. Most of the references to "Christ" in CG do not imply this cosmic aspect (at least not exclusively). One text which at first appears to be an exception, but is not, is "Christ the Priest Above Us" mentioned earlier in this chapter. It is full of glorious images, but tells of the very birth of Christ: "Noble the Gift! noble the Poor! / Noble the Man of this night /

[73] For complete list of 295 texts referring to "Christ" "Son" or "Jesus" see Appendix 4.9.

[74] It has already been mentioned that because of its generic nature it is difficult to know how the name "God" is being used in these and other texts. If, on the other hand, one interpreted "God" as always referring to the first person of the Trinity, it emerges as a dominant image in the collection. 299 texts refer to "God," "Father," "Creator, " or "Being." Of these, 209 or 70 percent do so outside the Trinitarian formula. Again, I feel that this interpretation is flawed in that the name "God" is too general to be understood as always referring only to the first person of the Godhead, and not, for example, to the Godhead in its entirety, or to a non-Trinitarian deity.

[75] For a complete list of 137 texts referring to "Spirit," see Appendix 4.10.

[76] For a complete list of 87 texts which refer to "Trinity/Three/Triune," see Appendix 4.21.

Christ the Priest above us. // It was Bride the fair who went on her knee, / It is the King of glory who is in her lap. / Christ the Priest above us." (68; I, 161) This "Priest Above Us" is a baby cradled in a woman's lap.

• Names reflecting redemptive suffering •

There are a number of names for Christ which emphasize his suffering and passion. These texts are not highly prevalent, but their presence shows a reliance on God's protection for the sake of, or through the suffering of Jesus on the cross. This is related to the "Gospel of Christ" mentioned earlier in this chapter, where recollections of the crucifixion on paper are used as a talisman against harm. There are about 26 texts which refer to Christ/Son/Jesus of the: wounds, tears, sorrow, Pasch, Passion, Holy Blood, tree, or cross.[77]

Many of these texts are appeals to God for protection or healing. For instance, 322; III, 321 is a prayer for protection while on a journey. Entitled "The Pilgrims' Safeguarding," in it, the pray-er places his/her soul and body under the guarding of Brigit, " . . . Fostermother of the Christ of the wounds," Mary, " . . . Mother of the Christ of tears" and of Christ, "O Thou Son of the tears, of the wounds, of the piercings, / May Thy cross this night be shielding me." (322; III, 321) And the prayer ends with the same appeal to the guarding of God: "O Thou Father of help to the poor feeble pilgrims, / Protector of earth and of heaven. . . ." (322; III, 321) Here we see Christ's passion emphasized even when the prayer is referring to Brigit and Mary. There is a clear connection between Christ's suffering and God's protection. It is as if the believer is saying, you suffered the cross for me, so surely you will also protect me. There is a reliance on God's empathy for us—You suffered, you know! The inclusion of God the Father as "Protector of earth and of heaven" reinforces the conceptual connection between Christ's crucifixion and God's protection. The salvation through Christ is not just one from moral sin, the believer is also saved from **death.**

There is one name in particular which in itself exemplifies Christ's suffering and sacrifice on the cross: "Lamb." This is, of course, a scriptural name for Christ and its

[77] For a complete list of 26 texts referring to Christ/Jesus/Son of: tears, Pasch, etc., see Appendix 4.12.

inclusion in CG is, therefore, not surprising. Its use in 15 texts is worth mentioning because, again, there is a connection between the crucifixion and request for healing and protection.[78] Three fourths of the texts which refer to Christ as the "Lamb" do so in a context of asking or affirming God's protection or healing. One interesting example is the belief that the "Passion-flower of Virtues" protects against harm on land or on water. In 175; II, 115, the pray-er affirms the efficacy of the plant: "Thou passion-flower of virtues beloved, / Sanctified by the holy blood of the Lamb, / . . . There is no earth, no land, / . . . There is no pool, no water, / . . . That is not to me full safe, / By the protection of the passion-flower of virtues. . . ." It seems that the flower's association with the crucifixion (perhaps because of its coloring) is what gives it power. It is believed that it has been in some way "sanctified" by the blood of the Lamb, giving it great power to protect. Again, we see a connection between the crucifixion and protection.

• Son of Mary, Fosterson of Brigit •

It is worth noting that in 46 of the texts which call Jesus "Son," he is specifically called the "Son of Mary" (Mary's Son, Son of Virgin, etc.), or the Fosterling of Brigit.[79] This name for Christ greatly emphasizes his humanity, while also enhancing the importance of Mary and Brigit. Incidentally, the name "Son of God" is used in only 34 texts. This is a good example of the way in which the names used for God can reflect a theological perspective. The fact that Jesus is called the Son of Mary more often than he is called the Son of God shows the believer's connection with Mary (and Brigit) and Christ's humanity. Again, this is in keeping with an experience of God as immanent. It could be claimed that the frequency of the name "Son of Mary" is due to the alliterative Gaelic original, "Mhic Mhoire" or "Mac Moire" (as compared to "Son of God," "Mac De") and not because of any theological perspective.[80] The pull to alliteration for the sake of it might be more believable if Mary did not play such an important part in the collection (see next chapter.)

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[78] 15 texts which refer to the "Lamb": 4; I, 13. 25; I, 65. 56; I, 133. 75; I, 193. 78; I, 213. 83; I, 233. 107; I, 291. 114; I, 311. 169; II, 105. 175; II, 115. 228; III, 45. 240; III, 77. 255; III, 121. 258; III, 137. 349; III, 391.

[79] For a complete list of 46 texts referring to "Son of Mary" etc., see Appendix 4.13.

[80] 60; I, 143 uses both names for Christ. In Gaelic: "Mac De" and "Mac Moire."

• King and Chief •

Perhaps no scriptural name for God is more fraught with transcendent associations as "King." Viewing God as an old man sitting upon his heavenly throne is quite common in Christian history. It is often used to show God's superiority to humanity who are but worms under the royal feet. God is called "King" in 138 CG texts.[81] As always, the context of the names for God give a clearer idea of the subtleties of meaning. There are plenty of glorious epithets for "King" in the collection (approximate number of texts in parentheses): King of kings (18), King of glory (11), King of the elements/stars/etc. (22), King of heaven/City/etc. (eight), King of power (six), King of hosts (three), King of angels (two), King of . . . ages, greatness, virtues, deeds and powers, mountains (one each). There are also a few epithets which are more tender: King of . . . life (27), grace (seven), blood (two), all (two), (one each) tenderness, my love, the living, salvation, mercy, health, my devotion, all creatures, promise, peace. These epithets and the contexts of the name "King" for God exemplify the correlative rather than contradictory relationship between immanence and transcendence in CG. There is no disparity between the image of a glorious King of heaven, and the King of tenderness who watches over me when I sleep. Incidentally, God is referred to as "Prince" only twice in CG: first, in 149; II, 63, Christ is "Prince of Power, / Who established the sun with strength . . . "; second, in "Good Wish" (286; III, 239), the believer wishes "The good of the Prince of heaven" on the subject of the blessing.

"King" is an important name in the Celtic tradition. In early Celtic society, the King of the tuath in Irish, and clan in Scottish society (extended family or tribal unit) was one of the people. Most members of the tuath would be able to claim blood relation with the King, so the image is not as remote as it might appear. The same could be said of the use of the name "Chief" which is used in nine CG texts.[82] While an image of authority, at his best, a chief is a just ruler who, again, is related to the clan member, and bears a responsibility to act in the clan's best interest. About 12

[81] For a complete list of 138 texts referring to God as "King," see Appendix 4.14.

[82] Nine texts which refer to God as "Chief": 2; I, 5. 10; I, 31. 112; I, 305. 118; I, 327. 120; I, 331. 134; II, 31. 188; II, 137. 241; III, 81. 335; III, 347.

texts refer to God as "High King."[83] This is a more transcendent image than "King." The "High King" or "ardrígh" would rule over many tribes/nations, and is, therefore, more removed from the "unfree," or ordinary person.

In considering this section of my thesis, Ronald Black commented on the interesting dynamics of transcendence and immanence in relation to the name rìgh in Gaelic verse:

> The use of rìgh in traditional Gaelic verse, praise poetry especially, is fascinating, because it is impossible to disentangle its use for 'chief,' and its use for 'God,' indeed sometimes I suspect we are intended to understand it as both at the same time! Editors tend to spoil this sublime ambiguity by translating it as "lord." The immanence/transcendence concept is very helpful here: I feel the poets are saying in effect that the clan chief and God are almost interchangeable concepts. The use of rìgh for both emphasises the simultaneous transcendence of the chief and immanence of God. This exquisite balance is present in the praise poetry itself, where over and over again the poet stresses the need for the chief to be a warrior in battle AND a kind pastor of his people.

An interesting comparison could be made between references to God and to the Chief in Gaelic praise poetry, but this must be left for Gaelic scholars to pursue.[84]

• Physician •

In addition to the many texts in which the believer prays to God to heal an ailment or injury, there are 11 texts in which God is called "Healer" or "Physician." Diarmuid O'Laoghaire states that "'an léigh, an liaig,' the physician, [is] a favourite term for [Christ] in the ancient Irish Latin prayers, i.e. *medicus.*"[85] In CG, Christ is referred to as the "Physician Son of Mary" (40; I, 95), "Physician of health" (74; I, 187), "Physician of salvation" (219; III, 13), and along the same lines, he is called "Soul Healer" or "Healer of my soul" (242; III, 85. 345; III, 377. 349; III, 389.) Lastly, he is called "Healer of healers" (462; IV, 217 and 483; IV, 265), "Healer" (244; III, 89), "Healing Man" (62; I, 147), and "Healing Hand" (241; III, 79-83). These various names include the images of Christ as both the healer of souls, and the

[83] 12 texts which refer to God as "High King": 13; I, 37. 80; I, 223. 93; I, 259. 97; I, 267. 99; I, 271. 109; I, 297. 166; II, 99. 201; II, 175. 248; III, 103. 372; IV, 31. 579; V, 325. 587; V, 351.

[84] Ronald Black recounts images, names and characteristics of the Chief in "The Panegyric Code (as exemplified in MacInnes' TGSI 50 paper)," unpublished, 1996.

[85] O'Laoghaire, p. 297.

one with the power to heal physical ailments. This latter image will become important in the next chapter when the agency of human healers is examined.

• Many names •

To give a taste of the many beautiful names for God in CG which display a happy partnership of transcendence and immanence, I will quote several lines from one text. It is not exactly a prayer, more a poem. In most of the poem, however, the speaker tells God of her sinfulness, reliance on God's care, and hope for her salvation. The poem is the dying words of a woman who in her insanity has run with the deer and is found by her lover as she nears her death. The names for God exhibit her acknowledgement of God's supreme power and righteousness and at the same time her words show the tender love she feels for her God who is close to her in her need:

> It was Thou, O King Who art on the throne, / Who didst make for me the day in its season; / I in the wilderness of the mountains, / Thy warmth sheltered me from the cold. // [333] . . . If but the Father of salvation / Might with His arm encircle me. // O Thou great God enthroned, / Succour me betimes with Thy goodness. . . . // Jesu! Thou likeness of the sun, / In the day of my need be near me! // Thou great Lord of the sun, / In the day of my need be near me; / Thou great Being of the universe, / Keep me in the surety of Thine arms! // [335]. . . Though I had no bed, / I lacked not for sleep, / For Christ's arm was my pillow, / His eye supreme was my protection. // [337] . . . Jesu, meet Thou my soul! / Jesu, clothe me in Thy love! / Jesu, shield Thou my spirit! / Jesu, stretch out to me Thine hand! (511; IV, 331-7)

• Conclusions •

Even in the English translations, the language which reciters use in the prayers of CG reflect some things about their experience of God. The use of indirect address expresses the wish and even trust that the prayer will be fulfilled. The surrounding of the believer with the protection of God is often invoked by using a series of spatial prepositions. Anthropomorphic images for God, physical metaphors for the presence of saints, and references to the body and blood of Christ, are ways to articulate a faith in God's pervading presence—to speak in human terms of that which is beyond humanity's full understanding. The use of scriptural allusion in the texts shows that the composers (and perhaps the reciters) had an excellent knowledge of scripture, and this informed their experience of God. Related to this is the use of prayers from the

institutional church, whether liturgical or devotional. The believers, although sometimes isolated from clerical influence, were a part of communities of faith led by the broader Church. Lastly, the names for God in the text paint a picture of the images for God which the reciters held. The figure of the Incarnate Christ is central to the experience expressed in the collection.

CHAPTER FIVE

EXPERIENCING GOD THROUGH AGENTS

In CG, the universe is God's and all that is in it is part of the kingdom of God. The sun, the moon, the saints,[1] angels, plants, animals, and even insects participate in the order of creation. To varying degrees they are portrayed as God's agents in CG. The kingdom of God truly is in the midst of the world of CG. Believers who understand this, and who cooperate with the 'system,' can have faith that they are secure. This is not to say that all is happy and trouble-free in this world. There are threatening agents, from whom protection is sought—witches, those who cast the evil eye, fairies, etc. Also, as mentioned in Chapter Three, the weather, the crops, fishing, etc. all need God's blessing and protection to be fruitful.

In a kingdom, the king has delegates or agents who do his bidding, and they are empowered by him to act on his behalf. The saints and angels are seen in a number of CG texts this way. Even some human beings have been endowed by God with the gift of participating in God's action as intermediaries. There are people in CG who have been given the gift of healing through God's power (evil eye, mote, etc.), and others with the power of divination. Lastly, God has bestowed certain aids through agents—healing plants and special prayers—to the believer.

There are many different ways in which these agents are seen by the believer in CG. They can be described on a 'spectrum of agency' (how the agent is seen as acting in relation to God and the believer). The first level of experience would be merely a reference in the text to the agent (e.g., I do this as Mary would . . . , or The charm that Brigit sent. . . .). Next, would be a recognition of their presence with the believer in some sort of tangible sense (e.g., Who is that on the floor? Peter, James, and John. . . .). A third level of agency would be involved if the agent were called

[1] 'Saint' in this thesis does not necessarily refer to a saint canonized by the Roman Catholic Church. It refers to any individual revered for his/her holiness, strength, wisdom, etc.

upon to act for the believer as an intermediary to God, (Mother, pray for us before the Father. . . . , or Guardian angel whom God appointed, protect me.) The fourth level of agency in CG can be seen when the saint, angel, sun, etc. is listed as a co-agent with God. Finally, at the strongest end of the spectrum of agency, the agent is called upon by the believer to act almost independently of God, or at least without reference to God. While the sovereignty of God in CG as a whole is clear, there are quite a number of texts in which the pray-er asks saints or angels for assistance with no explicit reference to God. For the purposes of discussion, this agency level shall be called "quasi independent." It should be remembered that the believer may or may not have viewed the agent as being independent of God. The agent is at least "textually independent." To recap, these levels of agency can briefly be described as: 1) reference, 2) presence, 3) intermediary, 4) co-agents, 5) quasi independent.

• Saints and Angels •

Following the idea of the kingdom of God in CG, a model of clientship can be employed to illuminate the relationships among the believer, God, the saints and the angels in the collection. This model is not derived from the text of CG itself, but is adopted in order to comment on the material in the collection. The model is a simplified version of what scholars know of the structure of early Celtic society, such as might be taught in a Celtic Civilization course at university.

In early Celtic society, there were "free" and "unfree" people. The "unfree" client (the ordinary person) can be seen as a corollary to the believer in CG. The "free" peoples consisted of the king and his dependents, the nobility or lords, and the bards/druids. These "free" classes correlate to greater and lesser degrees with the Trinity being the king and/or the nobility, and the saints acting at times as bards/druids, and the angels being lords who serve the king. The "free" are so much

more powerful than the client that the inner hierarchy of the "free" becomes blurred. As will be discussed below, in many CG texts there is little distinction made between the authority of the members of the Trinity and that of the saints and angels.

This hierarchy comes across in CG as an **ideal** kingdom. The king, or Trinity, is absolutely just, merciful and loving. The saints, in the role of bards or druids, are both wise and friendly, not distancing themselves from the clients/believers, but sharing wisdom, and giving protection. The clients, or believers, can trust that everything is under control, and that if they appeal to their rulers, teachers and guardians they will be helped. Of course, this is only a simplified model. Sometimes the agency or role of a saint or angel in CG will go beyond the scope of this model, and the analogy ceases to be illuminating.

The clientship model fits one particular function which the saints perform in CG. They are often depicted as the donors of efficacious prayers for healing or protection. I call these prayers because often they are appeals to God for healing or protection using the words believed to be passed on by the saint. They are sometimes referred to in CG as 'charms,' 'spells,' 'runes,' or 'incantations.' In today's world, all these words hold heavy overtones of superstition. As was stated in Chapter Two, one person's prayer for healing is another's 'magic spell.' So, when these so-called 'charms' appeal to God, or even to saints or angels, it is legitimate to call them prayers even though they may not always conform to accepted Reformed or Roman Catholic orthodoxy.

Returning to the saints' role as donors of these prayers for healing or protection, this is in keeping with the model of the saints as bards/druids. These prayers are a special wisdom, through which the believer can access power (usually explicitly the power of God). Again, the proper participation in the ordering of life brings benefit to

the believer. This passing on of knowledge is part of the bardic/druidic function. There are many texts which refer to the saints as givers and users of special prayers in CG.[2] It will suffice to mention one in particular. The most common reference within the verse text is to begin the prayer by saying something like, "The charm that Brigit and Mary put on. . . ." In a fairly rare occurrence, a reciter describes the donation of the prayer in the notes introducing "The Cow of Blessings":

> When Colum Cille was dwelling in the Aoi (Iona), a poor little wretched woman came to put her trouble to him and to ask his advice, for Colum Cille was the world's head of wisdom and the head of healing of the universe.
> . . . Colum Cille said to the poor little woman, 'I have made prattlings of cows and incantations of horses in my day and in my generation. I had them in a skin book, . . . [which] was stolen from me, and I lost the charms for cattle and the incantations of horses. . . . But I will make a rune for thee, poor little woman, which thou shalt sing to thy heifer, and before thou shalt have finished the rune the little heifer shall have taken to her calf. (385 Notes; IV, 55)

> [Within the verse text:] Columba's tending shall be thine behind them, / He made this lilt for thyself. (385; IV, 57)

There is a clear connection made between this particular text and the saint who gave it. It is the fact that Columba composed the "lilt" that makes it especially efficacious. There is no perceived contradiction in a saint having a book of "incantations." After all, Columba is "the world's head of wisdom and the head of healing of the universe." The saint is pictured as being empathetic with the plight of the poor widow. He sings the "charm" to her "with the tears streaming down his cheeks." (385; IV, 55) It is worth noting that the verse text has a poignant ending, referring to the death of the woman's son. Speaking of the calfless cow, she says, "The same lot is mine and thine. / May the little black calf not be lost to thee; / But mine only son beloved is beneath the sea." (385; IV, 59) The woman thanks Columba in song when the prayer works and the cow takes to her calf, and so will give milk: "My blessing on Colum till doom, / Thou art the best son on whom wave (of baptism) was poured; / Bountiful to me was thy speech and thy love. . . ." (385; IV, 59) Yet, the verse text continues with Columba's sharp retort:

Let not the flattery out of thy mouth,— / Small is its worth in the sight of

[2] For complete list of 35 texts referring to saints as creators/donors of 'charms', etc., see Appendix 5.1.

> God. // [p. 61] There has been no son of mother on earth / So good as the dear Son of heaven; / He created the creeping things of the plain, / That which swims in the sea and the winged creature of the skies. (385; IV, 59-61)

"The Cow of Blessings" is remarkably explicit in describing the understanding behind something as seemingly simple as a song to encourage a cow to take to her calf. The "lilt" is given by the wise and loving Columba to a woman in need. It works for her and she praises him for it. He chastises her for her flattery, reminding her that the Son of heaven is the one worthy of praise for it is he who created all living things. It **is** Columba who composed the lilt (which does not refer to God), but the verse text continues with a little theological lesson, not to praise the saint who made the lilt, but the Creator.

Christ too is depicted as the donor of a few special prayers in CG.[3] One instance is particularly interesting. In "Charm for the Eye," the pray-er invokes the Trinity, and says that "This is that which Christ wrote / When stretched upon the tree. . . ." (474; IV, 245) Not only is the prayer written by Christ, but it was composed from the cross. Again, there is a connection between a prayer for healing/protection and the crucifixion. The prayer goes on to appeal to Mary and Brigit as well as the "Being of life" and the "true King of my devotion." So, if this prayer was believed to be composed by Christ, then it is a 'divine sanctioning' of the appeal to saints for protection, along with the use of such special prayers, or 'charms' (Gaelic eòlais).

There are two additional texts (for the curing of surfeit in cattle) which appear to show Christ and Columba interchanged. "Surfeit" begins "The rune that Columba made / For the old woman's one cow. . . ." (496; IV, 293) "Charm for Surfeit" begins similarly: "The cure that Christ made / For the poor woman's one neat. . . ." (497; IV, 295) The texts are by no means identical, but they do have several lines in common. It seems that Christ and Columba are each seen as the donors of a "rune" or "cure" to a woman with a cow with surfeit, or they are simply variants of the same text. This emphasizes the fact that while it is usually saints who are depicted as the givers of special prayers, there are several instances of God (in Christ) doing so.

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[3] Charm/incantation of God/Christ etc.: 134; II, 29-31. 149; II, 63. 184; II, 129. 246; III, 95. 430; IV, 159. 474; IV, 245. 497; IV, 295.

There are also a number of texts which describe saints using or promoting the use of particular plants. Like the special prayers for healing, blessing or protection, the knowledge of beneficial plants is a way in which the believer can tap into the power of the ordained kingdom of God. In one text this understanding is quite explicit:

> I will place this flock before me, / As was ordained of the King of the world, / Bride to keep them, to watch them, to tend them, / On ben, on glen, on plain. . . . // Arise, thou Bride the gentle, the fair, / Take thou thy lint, thy comb, and thy hair, / Since thou to them madest the noble charm, / To keep them from straying, to save them from harm. . . . (101; I, 275)

The blessing ends with a request that Mary tend the flock, Brigit guard them, and Columba encompass them. Here we see that the believer appeals directly to the saints, yet he/she also recognizes that this is as it has been "ordained of the King of the world." This is not the only text to use the idea of the "King of . . . ordaining" in connection with the donation of a so-called 'charm' or plant; there are about seven others.[4] In this text, it could be claimed that the believer is distanced from the king who ordains, and, therefore, appeals to the saints 'instead'. The agency of the saints is strong, but there is a clear recognition of God's role as ruler. This could be an example of saints either as intermediaries or co-agents with God.

The 'strength' or independence of the agency of the saints and angels in CG has a bearing on how God is experienced in the collection. If the saints and angels are portrayed as practically self-empowered agents with little or no dependence on their relationship to God for their efficacy, it could be interpreted as a sign that God is so far above humanity—so transcendent—as to need go-betweens with their own agency so that mere mortals can relate to God through them without daring to approach the king. Yet, this is **not** the case in CG. It has already been mentioned that the hierarchy does not come across that way in the collection as a whole. The saints and angels, and even the Trinity itself, emerge as friendly benefactors of the believer--powerful and important friends who are of a much higher station than the believer, but friends who are reliable, loving and just. The fact that the members of the Trinity are

[4] Other texts referring to the "King ordaining" use of 'charm' or plant (in most cases, donated by saint/s): 144; II, 55. 150; II, 65. 158; II, 77. 159; II, 85. 160; II, 87. 166; II, 99. 173; II, 113.

often listed along with the saints and angels indicates that in many texts, God is not seen as 'more transcendent' and somehow 'less immanent,' because the saints and angels are strong figures. To the contrary, the entire household is crowded with God's presence in the form of the Trinity, the saints and angels. The God of life, the Son of Mary and the Holy Spirit are present along with the friendly figures of Mary, Brigit and Columba, and the strong guardian Michael.

There are many examples of references to both the Trinity and the saints and angels in texts.[5] According to Carmichael's notes, "Hymn of the Procession" is used on May Day while processing to the sheiling. In it, Michael, Mary, Brigit and Columba are all appealed to along with, or in the name of the Trinity: Michael, "For love of God, for pains of Mary's Son, / Spread thy wing over us, shield us all. . . ." Mary, "Shield, oh shield us. . . ." Brigit, "Safeguard thou our cattle, surround us together. . . ." Columba, "In name of Father, and of Son, and of Spirit Holy,. . . / Encompass thou ourselves, shield our procession. . . . // O Father! O Son! O Spirit Holy! / Be the Triune with us day and night. . . ." (75; I, 193) Like many other texts which list the Trinity and saints and angels together, there is not a strong distinction made between the power and presence of the saints and angels vis-a-vis that of the Trinity. They are, in a way, a community, a family appealed to out of love, trust and respect.

In addition to the significant number of texts which mention the Trinity in the same manner as references to the saints or angels, there are a number which use triads of saints/angels.[6] By far the most common triad of saints/angels is Mary, Brigit and Michael. These three appear in a triadic grouping (not just three among a long list) in 20 texts. This echoing of the Trinitarian formula is sometimes a key element in the structure of the prayer. For example, "Encompassment" has three quatrains, each with a triad:

> The Holy Apostles' guarding, / The gentle martyrs' guarding, / The nine angels' guarding, / Be cherishing me, be aiding me. // The quiet Brigit's

[5] See Appendix 5.2 which includes references to ten texts that refer to saints or angels and the Trinity.

[6] For a complete list of 32 texts using triads of saints or angels, see Appendix 5.2. This list includes triads with two saints and a member of the Trinity (usually Christ), and also where a triad of saints/angels is supplemented by a member of the Trinity, or accompanied by the Trinitarian formula.

> guarding, / The gentle Mary's guarding, / The warrior Michael's guarding, / Be shielding me, be aiding me. // The God of the elements' guarding, / The loving Christ's guarding, / The Holy Spirit's guarding, / Be cherishing me, be aiding me. (250; III, 107)

Again, there is no clear-cut hierarchy where the Trinity reigns supreme over the saints and angels. They are on a par in a textual sense. There are many instances where the triad is **not** accompanied by the Trinitarian formula, nor even any reference to God. In "The Cross of the Saints and the Angels" (17; I, 47), Michael, Mary and Brigit are appealed to with no reference to God. The triad is even referred to as "the three" and asked to preserve and shield the pray-er. There is a missing line or two in this text, so it might be argued that there was a reference to God in the missing fragment, but there are several other texts which appeal only to the triad of saints and angel (e.g., 108; I, 293. 204; II, 181. 378; IV, 41. etc.)

There are several texts in CG which refer to ten or more saints or angels which seem to be caim texts.[7] Even when the idea of encompassment is not explicit, one gets the feeling that the believer is surrounding him/herself, or the subject of the prayer, with the protective presence of different saints and angels with all their respective powers and attributes. The use of: 1) many saints, 2) grouped in triads, 3) listed with the Trinity, and 4) to encompass someone/something (in this case, cattle) all come together in "The Driving" (379; IV, 43-5). In this 35-line prayer to protect the cattle, each five-line stanza invokes a triad (the Trinity in the final stanza) to give: protection, keeping, safeguard, sanctuary, encircling, shielding, and sheltering. So the desire for the surrounding of God's shielding presence is sometimes expressed through the presence of saints/angels. The penultimate stanza is interesting as it invokes a triad of "the king of the Fiann . . ., / . . the King of the sun . . . , / . . .[and] the King of the stars. . . ." (379; IV, 45) Again, there seems to be no conflict in calling upon both the king of the Fiann, and the Trinity. The structure of the text follows the same pattern for the triads and Trinity, and so implies they are on a par, except that the Trinity is given the final, and arguably most important place.

Perhaps it is worth noting at this time some references to other pre-Christian, or

[7] Seven texts listing 10 or more saints/angels: 3; I, 7-11 (19 people). 104; I, 281 (10). 114; I, 311-3 (19). 118; I, 325-7 (11). 379; IV, 43-5 (16). 423; IV, 141-3 (17). 509; IV, 323-7 (12).

so-called "pagan" figures in texts which also contain Christian references.[8] There are approximately 30 such texts in CG.[9] Many of the characters only appear in one or two texts, but there are a few who are mentioned in a more significant number of texts. "The Fiann" are mentioned in seven texts.[10] "Fionn" is mentioned in six,[11] and often is referred to as "Fionn son of Cumhall." In addition to "The Driving" (379; IV, 43-5) quoted above, "the Fiann" (elite band of warrior hunters) and/or "Fionn" (the leader of the Fiann) are mentioned in "Charm of Protection" (246; III, 95-7), several prayers for healing, two blessings, and "Prayer Against Ill Report" (423; IV, 141-3). In "Charm of Protection," rending or killing by the Fiann is one of the things **from** which protection is sought. Whereas in "Prayer Against Ill Report" they are the protectors: "Fionn the Prince of the Fiann / Shall deliver me from the lie. . . . // The seven hosts of the Fiann / With their keen blades shall shield me. . . ." (423; IV, 141). The first lines of "Charm for Rose" echo the other texts which list the donor of the prayer or "charm" to boost its efficacy: "The charm made by Fionn son of Cumhall / For his own sister dear. . . ." (442; IV, 191) There is an ambivalence here which may reflect various attitudes towards these pre-Christian characters. Whether they elicit fear or admiration, the characters seem to exist for the reciters of these texts.

So what can we interpret from the appearance of these various figures from the "primal past"? How do they reflect an experience of God? Their presence in the few texts where they appear may be the tip of a textual iceberg which Carmichael did not include in the collection, or it may be that these heroic/mythological figures did not play a big role in the prayer lives of the reciters. Some of the 30 texts' references to pre-Christian characters are not petitions or invocations of the figures, but simply references. These references show that the characters were in the consciousness of the pray-er, but not necessarily anything deeper. As discussed above, however, there are several texts which do invoke the name of the character in order to invoke their

[8] For a discussion of the incorporation of pre-Christian figures into early Irish literature, see James P. Mackey, "Christian Past and Primal Present," *Études Celtiques*, 29 (1992), 285-97.

[9] See Appendix 5.3 for a list of texts and the pre-Christian characters contained in them.

[10] Fiann: 246; III, 97. 282; III, 231. 285; III, 237. 372; IV, 29. 379; IV, 45. 423; IV, 141. 475; IV, 247.

[11] Fionn: 125; II, 9. 280; III, 227. 379; IV, 45. 411; IV, 117. 423; IV, 141. 442; IV, 191.

power. There is a connection between some of the the primal figures and the Christian experience of the believers.

"Womanhood of Brigit or Praises of Brigit" (263; III, 157-9) is a good example of the linking of the Christian with the pre-Christian. Just as we might see the genealogy of a figure recounted in the Bible, or in early Irish poetry or literature, this text invokes Brigit's lineage for protection. Her lineage goes back from Aodh (perhaps Aodh Allán, 8th century High-king of Ireland or Aodh Eangach, "a prophesied king in mediaeval Irish lore."[12]) to Art, Conn and other mythical kings of Ireland.[13] Here is a saint with explicit links to pre-Christian mythological heroes.

In "Charm for the Mote" (475; IV, 247) the notes before the text recount that the pray-er says the "Credo of Mary in her heart" and makes the sign of the cross of Christ on the eye. The text includes:

> Come, O King of life, / With me to withdraw it. // The seven bitches (?) of the Fianna, / Let them attack (?) the pain; / O Thou King of the clouds, [[variant] With the love of the King,] / My desire were to withdraw it! (475; IV, 247)

There is no apparent contradiction in the pray-er's consciousness between asking both the "King of life" **and** "the seven bitches (?) of the Fianna" to help. This, after clearly expressing her Christian faith by saying the Credo and making the sign of the cross.

These various pre-Christian figures are not banished from the believer's world simply because they supposedly lived before Christ. They continue to be members of God's kingdom, and, in a few cases, they are called upon for help just as canonized saints of the Church are. It appears the pray-ers of these texts did not limit their respect and adoration of saints to people authenticated by the Church, or even to people who "lived" in Christian times. Just as Brigit's life is seen outside a regular understanding of time (in that she is seen as Mary's midwife), so too are these figures from pre-Christian times allowed to remain powerful and in some way "saintly"

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[12] Dáithi Ó hÓgáin, *Myth, Legend and Romance: An Encyclopedia of the Irish Folk Tradition* (London: Ryan Publishing, 1990), p. 36. There is a comprehensive treatment of the Aodh Eangach prophecies: Breandan O Buachalla, "Aodh Eangach and the Irish king-hero," in *Sages, Saints and Storytellers: Celtic Studies in Honour of Professor James Carney*, ed. Donnchadh O Corrain, Liam Breatnach and Kim McCone (Maynooth, 1989), pp. 200-232.

[13] Ó hÓgáin, pp. 41, 116, etc.

despite their pre-Christian fictional or historical existence. Some of the Christian saints may even trace their origins to pre-Christian Celtic religion. The process of euhemerisation can be seen in the pan-Celtic goddess, Brigid, who evolves into the saint Brigit. The lines between "pre-Christian" and "Christian" become blurred in such cases.

It will be helpful to examine some of the key saints and angels individually and discuss their various levels of agency. Then it may become clearer how their agency expresses the experience of God as immanent in the prayers of CG.

• Mary •

Mary, the mother of Jesus, is referred to in CG more than any other saint (or even the Holy Spirit). The person of Mary (not merely her name, e.g., "Son of Mary") is mentioned in 155 texts,[14] and she is, in many ways, the most important agent in the collection. One way to gauge a particular agent's significance is to see how many times he or she is the only agent in a particular text. As stated earlier, there are many texts which contain a litany of saints and angels-up to 19 people. In such a list, there is often no apparent difference in the agency of the individuals, and so all bear the agency together. In texts where there is only one agent acting as either intermediary, co-agent with God, or quasi independent agent, the agency is clearer and more significant. So it is worth noting that not only is Mary referred to in more texts than any other saint or angel in CG, but she also appears as the lone agent in more texts (50 out of the 155 in which she appears; in 18 of these, her agency level is intermediary ("3"), co-agent ("4"), or quasi independent ("5").)[15]

These references to numbers of texts can help us gain an overview of Mary's assisting the experience of God in the collection as a whole. When dealing with over 650 texts, it can be easy to focus on intriguing individual texts while losing sight of the context in which it appears. In the discussion of Mary's role as an agent for God in CG (and subsequently in the examination of other agents), specific texts will be explored as interesting examples of themes of agency, or exceptions to the rule.

[14] See Appendix 5.4 for a complete list of 155 texts mentioning the person of Mary.

[15] For a list of the 155 texts referring to the person of Mary, broken down by the highest level of agency, see Appendix 5.5.

Meanwhile, these profile "statistics" will help put these particular texts in the perspective of the entire CG collection.[16]

First, let us examine the least active level of agency for Mary: simple reference. There are 48 texts which merely refer to Mary (not including "Son of Mary") with no explicit request for her presence, or higher level of agency. In 26 of these texts, Mary is the only agent mentioned. Many of the "simple reference" texts are prayers or actions done as Mary did. For example, "The spell fair-white, / Sent of Mary Virgin. . . ." (151; II, 67) and "I will pluck the tree-entwining ivy, / As Mary plucked with her one hand. . . ." (158; II, 77) Others recount something Mary has done. The nativity is especially frequent, (e.g., "It was fair Mary who went upon her knee, / It was the King of life who went upon her lap. . . ." (197; II, 167)). This level of agency tells us little about how Mary acts as an agent of God's immanence, per se, but her frequent appearance in texts shows that she is in the "consciousness" of the pray-ers.

Her more active role ("higher" level of agency) in the other 107 texts in which she appears confirms that she is not merely a revered woman worth mentioning to God in prayer. The second level of agency, presence, is more difficult to define than the first. There are many times in CG when an agent's presence is invoked to protect, bless or heal. In these cases, the texts are listed in the higher levels because the presence is called upon to effect a change—to act. There are, however, a few examples of Mary's presence being affirmed without the expectation of specific "action" (11 texts). For example: "May the blessed Virgin Mary, / And the promised Branch of Glory dwell, / Oh! in my heart and soul always. . . ." (8; I, 27) And: "While the Mary of grace is in every place, / With the seven beatitudes compassing her. . . ." (213; II, 209) In these texts, Mary's presence with the believer is organically tied to the presence of God. "A Prayer" (8; I, 27) begins by invoking God in the pray-er's deeds, words, wishes, etc. and concludes with the desire that Mary and her Son dwell in his/her heart and soul. The believer seems to see Mary as a kind of Holy Spirit who, along with God and "the promised Branch of Glory," is invited to

[16] For a breakdown of numbers of texts for each agency level for Mary, Brigit, Columba, Michael, Apostles, and angels, see Appendix 5.6.

indwell him/her, the "next step" past immanence. ("Branch of Glory" is no doubt a reference to Isaiah's prophesy seen to have been fulfilled in Christ: "A shoot shall come out from the stump of Jesse, and a branch shall grow out of his roots. The spirit of the Lord shall rest on him. . . ." (Is. 11.1-2a))

It has already been mentioned that Mary appears in more texts (155) than the Spirit (137),[17] and that there are many triads of saints.[18] It is intriguing to note this "trinity" of God, Christ and Mary in this text. It may reflect a subtle current flowing through the collection of the trinity of the Holy "family": God the Father, Christ the Son, and Mary the Mother. There is one other text in CG which is almost as explicit in its Holy Family trinity: In "Countering the Evil Eye" the pray-er says,

> Make I to thee, thou cherished 'Dubhag,' ('Black One [cow]') / The charm of Mary, the charm of the King of all kings, / The most perfect charm that is in the world, / Which Thou hast given me, O God of all gods. (430; IV, 159)

There are nine other CG texts in which God, Christ and Mary are the only references to God or saints in the text.[19] The references to each are often simply that, mentioning them. For example, "God of the waters, the land, and the skies, / Who ordained to us the King of promise. // It was Mary fair who went upon her knee, It was the King of life who went upon her lap. . . ." (197, II, 167) Often they appear in different parts of the text, not placed together as in "Countering the Evil Eye" above. Nevertheless, Mary's appearance when the first and second members of the Trinity are mentioned but the third is not, is noteworthy. Again, it is precarious to argue from silence (lack of reference to the Spirit), but there is precedent to read these less explicit texts as reflecting a "trinity" of God, Christ and Mary. There are probably additional CG texts where Mary is present with God and Christ and not the Holy Spirit, but it is more subtly woven into the text.

Mary's portrayal as an intermediary for God (level three on the agency

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[17] This number does not include references to the "Trinity/Three" etc. because they do not specify who the members are.

[18] Appendix 5.2.

[19] Nine other texts mentioning the first, second but not third members of the Trinity, and mentioning Mary: 20; I, 53. 21; I, 55. 48; I, 111. 61; I, 145. 178; II, 119. 184; II, 129. 197; II, 167. 198; II, 169. 347; III, 383-5.

spectrum) is articulated in the "Ave Maria": "Pray for us sinners, Now and at the hour of our death." Because the role of Mary as a intercessor and conduit for Christ's grace is an "orthodox" element of the Roman Catholic tradition, one might expect to see her in that capacity in many CG texts.[20] Surprisingly, this is not the case. Some texts show her as intermediary, but then also as a co-agent. The texts are classified by the highest level of agency exhibited by the agent to get a clearer picture of each level (e.g., reference and presence are implied in the higher levels. . . .)

So, there are five texts in which Mary's highest level of agency is that of mediator between the believer and God. Two of the texts are from the liturgical tradition ("Hail to thee, Mary": 48; I, 111. and "Prayer to Mary Mother": 255; III, 119-25—a form of the Memorare). A third is somewhat ambiguous as to whether Mary and the other saints and angel mentioned are intermediaries. The prayer is to God for a blessing of the reaping and family. The pray-er asks the blessing "For the sake of Michael head of hosts, / Of Mary fair-skinned branch of grace, / Of Bride smooth-white of ringleted locks, / Of Columba of the graves and tombs. . . ." (89; I, 247) The other two texts are "Praise of Mary" (256; III, 127-33) and "Countering the Evil Eye" (431; IV, 165). "Praise of Mary" comes just after the Memorare-like text, and mentions the use of Pater, Credo, Prayer of Mary and Prayer of God's Son (256; III, 127). "Countering the Evil Eye" also mentions liturgical prayers—the "seven paters of Mary." (431; IV, 165) It makes sense that four of the five texts which portray Mary as an intermediary would be part of, or refer to the liturgical tradition which condones and/or promotes her performing that role.

The agency level most common for Mary in CG (and almost all the other saints and angels) is that of co-agent with God. There are 66 texts in which Mary is appealed to along with God, and in five out of six texts there are other saints or angels appealed to as well. This is a very important point that exemplifies the familial nature of the role that saints and angels play in the experience of God in CG. The saints and

[20] Prof. James P. Mackey comments to the author: "The reader might assume here that Mary as intercessor (Pray for us now and at the hour . . .) and Mary as 'conduit' are separate issues in 'Catholic orthodoxy.' Not so. Mary is channel of God's grace to us by asking for it for us, by interceding, and hence by God's agreement. Her place and status as Mother of God, Queen of Heaven etc., enhance her intercessory powers, but they do not make her an automatic conduit, as it were. That is why the R.C. church rejects the title 'co-redemptrix' for Mary."

angels are part of the same community as God, and they are often appealed to together. The saints and angels are beings with distinctive attributes and gifts, but are often portrayed as partners both with God and/or with each other in the protecting, blessing and healing of the believer.

A good example of Mary as co-agent with God (and not other saints or angels) can be seen in "The Pearlwort." In this prayer used when picking the plant for its perceived protective powers, the believer says:

> I will cull the pearlwort / Beneath the fair sun of Sunday, / Beneath the gentle hand of the Virgin, / She who will defend me, / In the might of the Trinity / Who granted it to grow. (420; IV, 135)

Note that Mary is a strong agent whose "gentle hand" guides and defends. She is not, however, independent because she protects "In the might of the Trinity." There is really a four-way partnership portrayed here, between the Trinity, Mary, the plant which God created, and the believer who picks it, keeps it, and relies on its power. "While I shall keep the pearlwort, / . . . Without hurt shall be mine hand, / Without pain shall be my heart. . . ." (420; IV; 135) Again, we see a world ordered by God in which there are 'family members' who help the believer if he/she knows how to go about things.

A text simply entitled "Prayer" exemplifies Mary's co-agency with God and other saints. In it, the pray-er begins by not only appealing to God and "Mary the Mother of Christ," but also to "Paul and the Apostles twelve, / To aid . . . and to shield . . . " him/her. (247; III, 99) It continues "I am beseeching the Lord, / And Mary ever a Virgin, / To succour me and to aid me / From evil and evildoing." This text is in keeping with the caim tradition discussed earlier. The language of shielding runs throughout the text, and the appeal to several saints, God and the Son of God for protection from a list of perils all bespeaks a 'surrounding' prayer. God's 'team' is asked to ward off the 'team' of possible dangers. Mary is an important 'player' in that she is mentioned twice and given descriptive titles each time ("Mother of Christ" and "ever a Virgin). This text is another example of a prayer which entreats God, the Son of God, and Mary with no mention of the Spirit.

At this time, it is worth noting Mary's role as "Mother of Christ." It is

interesting that Jesus is referred to as the "Son of Mary/Virgin" (44 texts) more often than Mary is referred to as the "Mother of Christ/Jesus/God/etc." (20 texts).[21] This small statistic reinforces Mary's intrinsic importance. She is not "merely" the mother of Jesus, He is her Son. As mentioned in the last chapter, calling Jesus "Son of Mary" emphasizes her importance and Christ's humanity, again placing Mary in more of a co-agent role, i.e., there is not a large divide between the "Son of Mary" and the "Mother of Christ."

The last and most active level of agency is "quasi independent" (level five). By quasi independent it is meant that there is no reference in the text to God's presence or activity assisting the saint's or angel's agency. As stated previously, the term independent does not necessarily mean that the believer perceived the saint as acting with no reliance on God's power or sovereignty. It does not mean that there are no other saints or angels appealed to in the text. In fact, of the 21 texts in which Mary is a quasi independent agent, in only four is she the sole agent listed. This proportion is almost identical for Brigit, Michael and Columba.[22] So, "independence" is from explicit reference to God, not the community of saints and angels, since about 85 percent of the quasi independent agency texts have more than one agent acting in partnership.

Let us turn to a few sample texts which show Mary as a quasi independent agent. Six of the 21 "quasi independent" Mary texts have to do with cattle or sheep. These milking croons and herding prayers may seem trivial, but the importance of the milk, and the safety of cattle was tantamount to crofters' survival. In today's world it is feasible that a high-powered businessman might appeal to God before negotiating a big contract. So why does it seem strange that a woman whose livelihood depended upon the health and productivity of her cattle would do the same as she milked or herded them? It is worth noting that all six of the texts having to do with cattle or stock have more than one agent. Two other cattle texts, while appealing to Mary and other saints, also tell the cow "For the sake of the High King, take to thy calf." (93; I,

[21] 45 texts refer to Mary as "Mother," but only 20 refer to her as the "Mother of Jesus/etc." In 5 of these texts she is listed as the "Mother of God."

[22] See Appendix 5.2.

259 and 99; I, 271) So, they are listed as "co-agency" texts rather than "quasi independent."

Thirteen of the texts ask Mary (and usually others) for protection or blessing, and a further two are for healing. Again, this is in keeping with the overall themes of the collection. These are the texts which are remarkable in the high level of agency involved. For instance in the "Sain," the pray-er invokes Mary's protective circling presence over the person prayed for: "If pursued, oh youth, from behind thy back, / The power of the Virgin be close to succour thee, / East or west, west or east, / North or south, south or north." (137; II, 37) It is **her** power which is invoked, not **God's** power through her. This is an important distinction as we examine how God is experienced in CG. Similarly, one prayer invokes the protection of the triad of Mary, Michael and Brigit to protect a hunter: "Hunter of a thousand mighty stags, / May gentle Brigit be close to thee, / May gentle Mary guard thy body, / Fair white Michael guard thy head." (513; IV, 351) Another text speaks of the pray-er reading ill-omens around him/her and appealing to the triad for protection from ill fate:

> I saw on the brine . . . / I knew immediately / That a flitting there was, / Blessing there would not be / After that. // The girth of Bride calm, / The girth of Mary mild, / The girth of Michael strong, / Upon me and mine. . . . (204; II, 181)

So, faced with ill-omens, the believer turns to the saints in hope of protection, or perhaps for the strength to endure what he/she knows is approaching. Of course, Mary's reliance on God's power may have been so obvious to the believer that it need not be explicitly expressed in prayer. Yet, the text does not tell us what is implied, only what is explicit.

In these texts and the few others in which she is rather independent, it could be interpreted that she moves beyond the scope of tapping into God's ordering, and becomes the prime mover appealed to by the believer. This theology is probably not endorsed by any "mainline" denominations today or during the time of Carmichael's collecting. This reliance on the saints and angels without reference to their capacity as members of God's "team" could have arisen out of the clerical void of the fifteenth through late seventeenth centuries when so many isolated areas were left without

ministers or priests to guide or "indoctrinate" them. It is probably safe to assume that some prayers which appeal to the saints, angels (or other beings) with no reference to God may have been consciously or subconsciously screened out by Carmichael as he collected and edited CG material. For, like the occult or curses, unorthodox appeals to Mary or other agents could have been interpreted by the outsider as "superstitions" and so demean the people Carmichael was trying to portray as dignified and "noble" (see Chapter One). So, we can only speculate on how widespread it was (and is) to rely on particular saints or angels with no explicit recognition of God as the source of their power.

A few last remarks about Mary's role as an agent of God's immanence in CG. Mary is clearly an integral figure in the collection. Like the members of the Trinity, and sometimes **as** a member of a Holy Family 'trinity,' Mary is seen as a present help—a powerful character who stands at the ready to assist the believer in the day-to-day living which includes protection from evil influences as well as physical harm or ill-fortune. At times Mary's power is one of a "druidic/bard," one delegated by the nobles to instruct, guide, and protect her "clients." At other times, however, she appears to be a noble herself, the "Queen" to the Creator's "(High) King" and Christ's "King/Prince."

Along with other saints and angels, Mary is a manifestation of God's created order for the good of the believer, but is also occasionally depicted as possibly being the author of her own agency and power. In two thirds of the texts in which she appears she is accompanied by other saints and/or angels, and although she is a very independent agent, she is most commonly portrayed as a co-agent with God and other beings. Some comparisons between Mary's agency and that of others will be possible as they are discussed below.

• Brigit •

There is no point in recounting all that Carmichael tells the reader about Brigit's significance, and activities surrounding her feast day. Our purpose here is to examine how Brigit functions in CG as an agent of God's immanence. In Carmichael's ten pages of notes about Brigit and Saint Brigit's Day festivities, he says that she is, "the

Mary . . . of the Gael" (70 notes; I, 164), and it is true that next to Mary, Brigit is present in more texts than any other agent (94).[23] Her activity is closely tied to that of Mary, in that in eight out of ten texts in which Brigit is present, Mary is too (77).[24] To give a brief overview of the number of texts at Brigit's various levels of agency may be helpful: (1) reference: 27 texts; (2) presence: 5 texts; (3) intermediary: 1; (4) co-agent: 42; (5) quasi independent: 19.

The themes of the texts including Brigit echo those of Mary, with perhaps a few more concerning cattle, and three butter churning prayers (191; II, 145-51. 192; II, 153. 397; IV, 87.) This is, of course in keeping with Brigit's role in early literature. Like Mary, there are also many texts for healing, protection, and the use of plants. Brigit is less often seen as the sole agent in a text than Mary, and when she is, it is almost always a simple reference.[25] Recognizing this overlap with Mary's agency, let us first look at any distinction between the two in the some of the many texts in which they appear together, and then look at the few texts in which Brigit is present without Mary.

The "Genealogy" of Brigit is a text with several versions in CG. Carmichael includes one version in Volume I ("Genealogy of Bride," 70: I, 175), and the other two versions are in Carmichael Watson's Volume III ("Womanhood of Brigit or Praises of Brigit," 263; III, 157-9 and "Blessing of Brigit," 264; III, 161-3). In the Volume I text, Brigit does not seem to be the most active agent. **Saying** the words of the genealogy seems to hold the power: "Every day and every night / That I say the genealogy of Bride, / I shall not be killed, I shall not be harried. . . ." Yet the believer also says, "Neither shall Christ leave me in forgetfulness." So, while the recitation of the "genealogy" is effective, Christ will be there too. After listing more ills which will not befall him (the reciter listed is male), the believer ends by saying: "And I under the protection of my Holy Mary, / And my gentle foster-mother is my beloved Bride." (70; I, 175) These lines smudge the agency line even further. From where does this

[23] For a list of texts in which Brigit appears arranged by her highest level of agency, see Appendix 5.7.

[24] For a list of texts in which both Brigit and Mary appear, see Appendix 5.8.

[25] Out of 11 texts in which Brigit is the sole agent, 9 are at the reference level (1) of agency.

power come? Clearly saying the **words** is important, but **Christ** will not forget the believer either. **Mary** is protecting him too, and he simply affirms that **Brigit** is his foster-mother with no explicit expression of her activity. In examining agency in this intriguing text, it is helpful to look at the other two versions in the collection.

The two versions in Volume III are preceded by a prose folkloric account of Brigit's miraculous encounter with Mary, Joseph and the newborn Jesus. Yet neither the Volume I notes, nor this shorter prose account illuminates why saying the descent of Brigit would be efficacious. "Womanhood of Brigit or Praises of Brigit" is somewhat longer than the Volume I text, with 14 lines of epithets for Brigit and several additional "ills" which will not befall the speaker. The text also mentions Christ's remembrance and ends in a similar way: "I am under the keeping / Of my Saint Mary; / My companion beloved / Is Brigit." (263; III, 159)

The most striking difference between the first two versions and the third, "Blessing of Brigit," is Mary's absence as an agent. Christ is referred to in the same manner as the other two, but Mary is mentioned only in an epithet for Brigit . The final three stanzas confirm Brigit's agency clearly:

> I am under the shielding / Of good Brigit each day; / I am under the shielding / Of good Brigit each night. // I am under the keeping / Of the Nurse of Mary, / Each early and late, / Every dark, every light. // Brigit is my comrade-woman, / Brigit is my maker of song, / Brigit is my helping-woman, / My choicest of women, my woman of guidance, / Each choicest, each dearest, each . . . , each guidance. (264; III, 163)

Unlike the other two texts, **Brigit** is the primary agent of protection of the believer, though Christ is mentioned briefly. In "Blessing of Brigit," the believer lauds Brigit as protector and friend—she is no longer in the shadow of Mary.

Perhaps the fact that Brigit was believed to have been from a poor family means her agency is more one of "friendly" helper to Mary's "noble" helper. This comparison is well illustrated by a verse from a text mentioned earlier in this chapter, "Hymn of the Procession": "Mary beloved! Mother of the White Lamb, / Shield, oh shield us, pure Virgin of nobleness, / And Bride the beauteous, shepherdess of the flocks. [The full stop is in the English translation, a comma is used in the Gaelic version.] / Safeguard thou our cattle, surround us together. . . ." (75; I, 193) Here

we see the strong and regal Mary and the kind and animal-loving Brigit. Since this text was no doubt versified and punctuated by Carmichael (or Ella), it is reasonable to suggest that the reciter could have been asking only Mary to shield, and asking Brigit to surround the cattle and themselves. It is a subtle distinction, but it would make the agency a bit clearer.

In an overview of all 77 texts in which both Brigit and Mary are mentioned, just over half of them list Brigit first. Of course, Mary appears in many more texts than Brigit does. These small points are simply to show that while Brigit is an important agent in CG, Mary is a stronger figure in more texts.

Now, let us turn to a quick examination of Brigit's agency when Mary is not in the text. Of these 17 texts, only four have Brigit in a more active agency than simple reference. In two she is joined by other agents, and in two she is the sole agent. In "Herding Blessing" (102; I, 277), she and Carmac and Columba are appealed to for protection of cattle as they travel the land. In an interesting example of many agents, some of whom are not commonly associated with the Christian canon, "Prayer Against Ill Report" concludes a long list with an invocation of Brigit's strength: "I shall go down with Fìte,[26] / Brigit shall raise up my head; / 'Tis to efface ill report / That I have come hither." (423; IV, 143) Other than the "Blessing of Brigit" (264; III, 161-3) which was just discussed, the only other text where Brigit is the sole agent with a level of agency higher than reference is "Smooring the Hearth" in which she is a quasi independent agent. The text is only five lines long, which may explain the fact that no other agents, or even God are mentioned. Her agency is classified as "quasi independent" simply because she is the only agent. The text is actually not an urgent call for her immediate action, but simply an invocation of her name and the protective presence that implies: "I will smoor the hearth / As Brigit the Fostermother would smoor. / The Fostermother's holy name / Be on the hearth, be on the herd, / Be on the household all." (324; III, 325) We see again the power of the name invoked, this time it is Brigit's power—the gentle power of the "Fostermother." So, while Brigit is present in a good number of texts, her **individual** agency is not nearly as strong as

[26] This is probably St. Ita (or Ide), 6th century Irish nun. The poignant lullaby to Jesus, "Jesukin" is attributed to her. See Murray, p. 35 for a translation.

Mary's in the collection as a whole.

• Michael and Angels •

Carmichael includes over 10 pages of notes about Michael and descriptions of Michael's day festivities in Volume I (pp. 198-209), and there are six more pages in Volume III (pp. 138-44). The reader does not need me to repeat his observations. Let us then look at Michael's agency in the 61 texts in which he appears,[27] and also at the 40 texts which mention "angel/s," "Ariel," "Gabriel," "Uriel," and/or "Raphael," (not including references to "King of the angels," "God of the angels," etc.)[28]

As stated earlier, it is in the 'traditional,' perceived nature of angels to be God's messengers and servants (the word angel comes from the Greek word for messenger). This can be seen countless times in scripture. So, it is not particularly surprising that Michael and other angels play the role of intermediary more often than saints in CG. In fact, when one examines the frequency of the various levels of agency for Mary, Brigit, Columba and the Apostles, they act as intermediaries in only 1 to 3 percent of texts mentioning them. This is in stark contrast with the percentage of Michael and angel texts in which they are intermediaries: 15 percent.

It is even more remarkable that in eight out of nine of Michael's intermediary texts, he is the only agent mentioned. This fact heightens the distinctiveness of his agency. In CG, Michael is turned to more often than any other saint (including Mary) as a sole intermediary for God. This strongly identified level of agency is probably tied to the several death prayers in the collection, and Michael's traditional role in the judgement of souls. Five of the nine intermediary Michael texts are prayers concerning death, as are two of the six intermediary angel texts.[29] In the first of the death prayers in CG, "The Soul Leading," Michael's role is articulated quite clearly:

> Be this soul on Thine arm, O Christ, / Thou King of the City of Heaven. // Amen. // Since Thou, O Christ, it was who bought'st this soul, / Be its peace on Thine own keeping. // Amen. // And may the strong Michael, high king of the angels, / Be preparing the path before this soul, O God. // Amen. // Oh! the strong Michael in peace with thee, soul, /

[27] See Appendix 5.9 for a list of 61 texts mentioning Michael, broken down by levels of agency.

[28] See Appendix 5.10 for a list of 40 texts mentioning "angel/s," "Ariel," "Gabriel," Muriel," Uriel," and/or "Raphael," broken down by agency levels.

[29] Five death prayers with Michael as intermediary: 51; I, 117. 52; I, 119. 53; I, 121. 342; III, 369. 348; III, 387. Two death prayers with "angels" as intermediaries: 345; III, 377. 350; III, 393.

> And preparing for thee the way to the kingdom of the Son of God. // Amen. (51; I, 117)

It is clear that in this text salvation is wrought by Christ alone. Michael is not even directly addressed in the prayer. The dying person's "soul-friend" addresses the request for Michael's help to **God**. Michael is praised as "strong" and "the high king of the angels," but it is clearly the Son of God's kingdom to which the soul hopes to go. Christ is the "King of the City of Heaven," and Michael is the servant angel who prepares the path for the soul's journey to that City.

It is interesting to note the use of "Amen" in this prayer. It is one of only 13 texts in which the word occurs.[30] This could be for many reasons, the most obvious is that Carmichael felt it unnecessary to include the closing if it were very prevalent. Another possibility is that it was not used very often by the reciters. In the few texts in which 'amen' is used, it is frequently repeated several times within the prayer. Six of the texts use it more than once (up to 10 times.) Five of the texts use "amen" with the Trinitarian Formula.

Returning to Michael's agency in the death prayers in CG, "The Death Blessing" also mentions Michael and the day of judgement:

> And since Thine it was, O Christ, to buy the soul, / At the time of the balancing of the beam, / At the time of the bringing in the judgement, / Be it now on Thine own right hand. . . . // And be the holy Michael, king of angels, / Coming to meet the soul, / And leading it home. . . . (52; I, 119)

The image of the balance beam brings to mind the many stone crosses which show Michael and Christ (and sometimes the devil) at the scales weighing souls. A good example of this can be seen in the "Cross of Muiredach" at Monasterboice.[31] The faithful are depicted on Christ's right hand facing him. Some of the condemned are in contorted positions, flanked by the devil with his pitchfork. They face away from Christ on his left. Below Christ is Michael by the balance beam weighing souls (a small figure sits in the left side of the scales). Below the scales, sits a demon trying

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[30] 13 texts which use "Amen" (with the number of occurrences if more than one): 2; I, 5 (2). 5; I, 15-7 (10). 6; I, 19-21 (10). 35; I, 85. 51; I, 117 (4). 84; I, 235. 140; II, 43. 144; II, 55. 180; II, 121. 218; III, 11 (9). 424; IV, 145. 489; IV, 277-9 (3). 497; IV, 295.

[31] See Appendix 5.11, for a drawing by the author of cross at Monasterboice.

to tip the scales in his favor, and Michael appears to be holding him down with a sword or staff. Above Christ, angels read the "Book of Life" in which are written the names of the saved, or the deeds of humans. A 13th century poem called "The Day of Judgement" mentions the book: "Then shall, with universal dread, / The sacred mystic book be read, / To try the living and the dead."[32]

The reference in "The Death Blessing" to being "on Thine own right hand" is most likely a scriptural allusion to the inspiration for the carving just described: Matthew 25. 31-33. It reads:

> When the Son of Man comes in his glory, and all the *angels* with him, then he will sit on the throne of his glory. All the nations will be gathered before him, and he will separate people one from another as a shepherd separates the sheep from the goats, and he will put the sheep at his right hand and the goats at the left (emphasis added).

Later in this passage from Matthew, the Son of Man welcomes the faithful, those at his right hand, into the kingdom saying, "for I was hungry and you gave me food. . . ." (Mt. 25.35 a) Is it any wonder then that on St. Michael's Day in particular believers made a special gift of food to a poor family living near them?

Let us take a moment to examine the few other texts in which Michael is the only agent listed. In the text following Carmichael's extensive notes on Michael and the festivities celebrated on his day, we are given a vibrant portrait of Michael:

> Thou Michael the victorious, / I make my circuit under thy shield, / Thou Michael of the white steed, / And of the bright brilliant blades, / Conqueror of the dragon, / Be thou at my back, / Thou ranger of the heavens, / Thou warrior of the King of all, // [p. 211] . . . I make my circuit / In the fellowship of my saint, / . . . No harm can e'er befall me / 'Neath the shelter of thy shield; // . . . God's shepherd thou art. // Be the sacred Three of Glory / Aye at peace with me. . . . // . . .Every thing on high or low, / Every furnishing and flock, / Belong to the holy Triune of glory, / And to Michael the victorious. (77; I, 209-11)

This text has much that confirms and fits the model of the Trinity's kingship with angels, particularly Michael, in the role of warrior. The line translated "warrior of the King of all" (77; I, 209) could also be the "King of life" (Gaelic: Righ nan dul). As mentioned in Chapter Four, Carmichael variously translates dùl as "elements," "life," or "all." In any case, here we see Michael explicitly referred to as

[32] Patrick Murray, ed., *The Deer's Cry* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1986) p. 51.

the King's warrior. Michael is the conqueror of the dragon (see Rev. 12.7). He is a warrior whose shield (hearkening to the caim texts) can protect the believer from all harm ("No harm can e'er befall me. . . .") Yet this warrior is also seen as a "friend": "I make my circuit / In the *fellowship* of *my* saint. . . ." (emphasis added.) At the end of the text, the pray-er confirms again the dominion of God, and Michael with God, over all of life: "Every thing . . . / Belong to the holy Triune of glory, / And to Michael the victorious." (77; I, 211)

Compare "Michael the Victorious" to an 11th century text from the Old Irish, "Hymn to Saint Michael,"[33] and many of the same themes occur:

> Angel! Great-miracled Michael, carry my request to the Lord. // Do you hear me? Ask of the forgiving God forgiveness for all my great evil. // Do not delay! Carry my greedy request to the King, to the High King. // Bring help, bring protection to my soul in its hour of leaving earth. // To meet my waiting soul come stoutly with many thousands of angels. // Warrior, against the crooked, twisted, warring world come to my help indeed. // Do not spurn what I say, do not desert me while I live! // I choose you to redeem my mind, my sense, my body. // Intercessor, victorious fighter, angelic slayer of Antichrist![34]

Like many CG texts, here we also see Michael appealed to as "warrior" and intermediary for the "High King"; the one who will "meet my waiting soul." Yet, the role of intercessor is much stronger in this text. The pray-er asks him to take his request for forgiveness to God. At the closing of the text, the believer articulates that he/she has chosen Michael to **redeem** his/her mind, sense and body. The implied agency is much stronger in redeemer than in intercessor, as Michael is called at the end of the text: "Intercessor, victorious fighter, angelic slayer of the Antichrist." The text in its entirety emphasizes Michael as the "bringer" of help, protection, even redemption, more than seeing him as "the Redeemer." The strong similarity between the language used in this 11th century text and Michael texts in CG points to the antiquity of the beliefs about Michael's agency, if not proving the antiquity of the CG texts themselves.

Like the other saints and angels in CG, Michael is most often portrayed as a co-

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[33] David Greene and Frank O'Connor, ed., *A Golden Treasury of Irish Poetry A.D. 600 - 1200* (Dingle: Brandon Ireland & UK Ltd., 1990) pp. 165-6.

[34] Greene and O'Connor, p. 166.

agent with God (in 29 out of 61 texts), but there are 12 texts in which he is quasi independent. In two of these 12 texts Michael is the sole agent and like "Michael the Victorious" (77; I, 209-11) they are also prayers for use on his feast day. Neither of these two texts, "Michael Militant" (259; III, 145-7) and "Michael of the Angels" (260; III, 149), have explicit references to God in them, and so are categorized as level five agency. It should be emphasized that Michael and the other angels' "independent" agency is very "quasi." Even more than the saints discussed in this thesis, Michael and the angel's role is very much as an intermediary for God. Therefore, it can be assumed that the sovereignty of God is always behind their agency, even if it is not explicitly mentioned.

In "Michael Militant" (259; III, 145-7), the pray-er asks Michael to:

> Shield thy people / With the power of thy sword . . . // Thou chief of chiefs, / Thou chief of the needy, / Be with us in the journey / And in the gleam of the river . . . // [p. 147] Thou chief of angels, / Spread thy wing / Over sea and land, / For thine is their fullness. . . .

The same reciter who gave this prayer to Carmichael, Ann Livingstone of Taynuilt, also tells a bit about some feast days in the notes preceding the text. In describing the St. Michael's Day festivities, she says that the farmers would give food to the poor. She says, "the man and the woman bestowed this on the Michael beam (balance) that it might be before their souls at the time of going over the gleam of the river." (259 notes; III, 142) Her words illuminate the text of the prayer. Michael is referred to in the prayer as not only "chief of the angels," but also "chief of the needy." (259; III, 145) Again, he is not such a fierce warrior that he has no compassion. The believers see works of charity (especially when done on St. Michael's Day) as helping them when it comes time for their lives to be weighed in the balance. The metaphor of the river is again used for death, "Be with us in the journey / And in the gleam of the river. . . ." (259; III, 145) At the end of the text, the believer confirms that all the world in its fullness, "sea and land" are Michael's. This is like the closing in the Volume I Michael's Day text (77; I, 211), but in this one there is no mention of God's dominion, only Michael's.

Lastly, a brief word is in order concerning the last "sole agent" text for Michael:

"Michael of the Angels." (260; III, 149) It too asks for Michael to protect, shield and encircle (Gaelic: caimir). Yet, in this shorter prayer, it is only the *soul* of the believer for which protection is sought. There is not the same breadth of dominion expressed in this text as in that of "Michael Militant." (259; III, 145-7)

So, Michael's distinctive agency in CG is that of sole intermediary. At the third level of agency, he acts alone more than any saint. Yet like the saints, he most often occurs in texts along with other agents (in 50 out of 61 texts.) He is often pictured as the warrior protector, benefactor and friend—strong and compassionate. His role in the soul's judgement at death is paramount in his portrayal in CG.

• Angels •

The Rev. Alexander Stewart, a contemporary of Carmichael's (see Chapter Two), makes an interesting statement in commenting on "A Blessing to be said at Bedtime," in his *Nether Lochaber* (the text is given in the Gaelic with an English translation—probably Stewart's.) The blessing was one of several Carmichael contributed to the articles which became a book, and seems to be similar, but not identical, to "Bed Blessing" (37; I, 89). Stewart writes:

> Apart from the appropriateness and almost absolute faultlessness of the rhythm and language in which they are couched, nothing about these old Hebridean "Blessings" seems to us so beautiful and striking as the nearness with which they bring Heaven and its active, ceaseless beneficence, to the very firesides and commonest affairs of men. Nothing is too small or insignificant to be placed, not in a general way observe, but in the most literal particular sense, under the Divine guardianship. With these old people, in their ocean-girt and storm-swept islands, God was not merely the creator, but the ever present, ever near father, protector, and friend, while to them His angels were in very truth "*ministering* spirits, sent forth to *minister* for them who shall be heirs of salvation"—not merely in spiritual matters, we are to remark, but in all the affairs of common, every-day life. Since the days of the ancient Hebrews, nowhere shall we find so firm and fixed a belief in a [p. 222] direct and constant intercourse and communion for good between Heaven and Earth.[35]

Stewart's words not only reiterate the thrust of this thesis, but also focus on angels and their role in the "Divine guardianship." Angels, like the saints and the Trinity, are part of the same everyday community which surrounds the believer. Stewart quotes from scripture in this passage. In the New Revised Standard Version

[35] Stewart, *Nether*, pp. 221-2.

it reads: "Are not all angels spirits in the divine service, sent to serve for the sake of those who are to inherit salvation?" (Heb. 1.14.)[36] This verse from Hebrews is taken from a section about Christ's superiority to the angels which begins, "For to which of the angels did God ever say, 'You are my Son; today I have begotten you'?" Heb. 1.5)

Michael, and (even more so) the other angels, are called on more frequently for protection and for blessing than for healing. This is in contrast to the saints. While one in eight Brigit or Mary texts and one in four Columba texts concerns healing,[37] only one in 15 Michael texts (four out of 61) and no angel texts are about healing. In CG's kingdom of God, the "warrior" angels know their duty: to protect and bless their charges. They are not usually called upon by the believer to perform the healing function of the Trinity, saints, or human healers (see below).

Because Carmichael does not have extensive notes on some of the more intriguing angel references, it is worth exploring a few of these to illuminate their agency. First, there are several texts which refer to the names of particular archangels other than Michael.[38] There are four names which refer to archangels and an additional name which may or may not to refer to one: Ariel (in 11 texts), Gabriel (7), Uriel (5), Raphael (4), and lastly Muriel (4). All but one reference to these named angels occur in Volumes I or II. They almost always appear in texts with other named angels (Ariel appears in two texts with only saints mentioned), and they are never the sole agent. The 14 texts in which the archangels are mentioned vary in theme: seed consecration, evil eye, invocation of graces, kindling the fire, bed blessing, blessing the herd, lamb clipping, hunting, fishing, and guiding cattle. Most of them concern blessing and protecting an activity, and not healing (as mentioned earlier.)

The names Michael, Gabriel, and perhaps Raphael are fairly familiar to many

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[36] This verse is also quoted in a brief exposition about angels in "The Second Helvetic Confession." See the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), *The Book of Confessions* (Louisville: Office of the General Assembly, Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), 1991), section 5.033.

[37] Brigit: 15 out of 94 texts = 16 percent. Mary: 27 / 155 = 17 percent. Columba: 16 / 56 = 29 percent.

[38] See Appendix 5.12 for a list of texts with named angels (archangels.)

Christians because of their presence in scripture. Michael is the contender with Satan (Jude 9) and the slayer of the dragon in Rev. 12.7. Gabriel is the bringer of news to Zechariah and Mary in Luke 1.11-20 and 26-38, and to Daniel in Dan.8.15-27. Gabriel has become linked with the trumpet call at the Day of Judgement (I Thess. 4.16). Raphael is Tobit's guide and protector in the Apocryphal book of the same name (e.g., Tob. 5.4; 12.15). Uriel is not as well-known, but also is mentioned in the Apocrypha. In 2 Esdras he is God's messenger to the writer of the book. (2 Esd. 4.1; 5.20; 10.28) Muriel is here characterized as a "named angel" because when "she" is mentioned in CG texts, it is always along with other "archangels." It is likely, however, that she is a saint (who perhaps became confused for an angel because the final syllable of her name is the same as the others.) A "Muriel" is mentioned in Alexander Forbes' *Kalendar of Scottish Saints,* "MURIEL is found among the virgins and widows in the Dunkeld Litany. It is probably a modification of the Irish Muirgel."[39]

Other than Michael, Ariel is the named angel most commonly referred to in CG, yet is not always listed with other angels. It might be tempting to speculate that "Ariel" is simply a transformed "Uriel," but they appear together in four of the five Uriel texts. Ariel is not mentioned in two early Irish texts which list several names for angels/archangels. First, in *Saltair na Rann*, there are 23 names listed in the Old Irish (lines 793 to 804):

> Gabriel, Michél . . . , / Raphiel, Panachel . . . , / Babichél, Raguel . . . , / Mirachel, Rumel . . . , / Fafigial, S*um*sagial . . . , / Sarmichiel, Sarachel . . . , / Ur[i]el, Hermichel . . . , / Sarachel, Barachel . . . , / Lihigiel, Darachél . . . , / Segiel, laSariel . . . , / Lonachel, Arachél . . . , / Stichiel, Gallichiel . . . .[40]

Even in the Old Irish, it is easy to see the first three angels mentioned are the familiar Gabriel, Michael, and Raphael. Uriel is mentioned later in the text (line 799). Muriel and Ariel are not to be seen, unless "Arachél" could have been transformed over time into Ariel. The 19 other names are less familiar.

Second, in the fifteenth century text, "A Prayer to the Archangels for Each Day

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[39] Alexander Forbes, *Kalendar of Scottish Saints* (Edinburgh: 1872), p. 417.

[40] Whitley Stokes, trans., *Saltair na Rann* , *Anecdota Oxoniensia, Mediaeval and Modern Series.* Vol. 1 - Part III (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1883), p. 12.

of the Week" there are seven angels mentioned in the following order: Gabriel, Michael, Raphael, Uriel, Sariel, and Panchel.[41] The importance of Gabriel, Michael, and Raphael as "chief" angels is shown by their appearance in both texts first, and, interestingly enough, in the same order. In "A Prayer . . . " each angel is invoked on a day of the week against evil, injury, and disease, and at the end the protection of the Trinity is invoked. Of Michael, the pray-er says: "Not with anyone do I compare him but with Jesus, the son of Mary."[42] This statement is in some tension with the passage from Revelation in which John is with the angel who made known the "revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave him to show his servants. . . ." (Rev. 1.1). "Then I [John] fell down at his [the angel's] feet to worship him, but he said to me, 'You must not do that! I am a fellow servant with you and your comrades who hold the testimony of Jesus. Worship God!'" (Rev. 19.10) Although Michael and other angels are praised and admired in CG, there is no sense that they are worshipped, or even seen in other than an intermediary and subservient role to God.

One last early text which mentions several archangels is worth noting. In a late eighth century or early ninth century text attributed to Alcuin, Michael is the centerpiece, but Gabriel and Raphael are also mentioned. "A Sequence for Saint Michael" calls Michael "Archangel of the King of Kings" and asks him to hear them.

> We acknowledge thee to be the Prince of the citizens of heaven: / And at thy prayer God sends His angels unto men. . . . // Thou with strong hand didst smite the cruel dragon, . . . // Hear us, Michael, greatest angel, / Come down a little from thy seat, / To bring us the strength of God, / And the lightening of His mercy. // And do thou, Gabriel, / Lay low our foes, / And thou, Raphael, / Heal our sick, / Purge our disease, ease thou our pain, / And give us to share / In the joys of the blessed.[43]

Several themes from CG are anticipated in this centuries old text. Michael is praised and affirmed as the chief angel who, in accordance with scripture, vanquished the dragon. He is asked to **bring God's** strength and mercy to the believer—again the bringer/intermediary of God's power. Gabriel is called upon for protection. The only theme which is not in keeping with CG material is the role of Raphael as healer

[41] T. P. O'Nowlan, trans., "A Prayer to the Archangels for Each Day of the Week," *ÉRIU*, 2 (1905), 92-94.

[42] O'Nowlan, p. 93.

[43] Murray, p. 34.

and purger of disease. This reflects Raphael's role in Tobit. In Tob. 6.1-8, Raphael instructs Tobit in the procurement and use of cures for cataracts, and driving evil spirits away from a person. As mentioned before, however, angels are not called upon for healing very often in CG.

Related to the references to the named angels or archangels are CG texts which mention "the nine angels" (six texts) or "the seven angels and the two attending angels" (two texts.)[44] Carmichael discusses the significance of the number nine in his notes in Volume II. He says: "There are nine orders of angels, and nine choirs of archangels, according to the Christian hierarchy of the Fathers." (II, 334) Perhaps Carmichael was thinking of the hierarchy of the three choirs of angels which each have three classes within them (from the highest): seraphim, cherubim, thrones; dominations, virtues, powers; principalities, archangels, angels.

The "seven angels" are found in scripture as the angels of Revelation who surround God's throne: "And I saw the seven angels who stand before God, and seven trumpets were given to them." (Rev. 8.2) None of these seven angels in Revelation are named, but in texts from outside the CG collection such as "A Prayer to the Archangels for Each Day of the Week," we see the possibility of names being attributed to them. The seven angels could also be the seven orders of angels which are alluded to in the New Testament (all but the two highest, seraphim and cherubim.)

Who then are the "two attendant angels" mentioned in the two death texts which refer also to the seven angels of the Holy Spirit? In "Death of Unction" the believer prays that "The seven angels of the Holy Spirit / And two attendant angels / Be shielding me. . . ." (345; III, 377) Could this be a reference to the two orders of angels from the Old Testament: seraphim and cherubim? Seraphim are described in Isaiah 6.2: "Seraphs were in attendance above [the Lord]; each had six wings. . . ." and cherubim are mentioned in Gen. 3.24: "[God] drove out the man; and at the east of the garden of Eden he placed the cherubim, and a sword flaming and turning to guard the way to the tree of life."

[44] Six texts referring to "nine angels": 26; I, 67. 36; I, 87. 37; I, 89 (all sleep prayers.) 88; I, 243-5 (seed consecration). 250; III, 107 (encompassment). 277.14; III, 205 (blessing). Two texts referring to "the seven angels of the Holy Spirit and the two attending angels": 345; III, 377. 350; III, 393 (both death prayers.)

"Joyous Death" refers to the seven and nine in slightly different language: "May the seven angels of the Holy Spirit / And the two guardian angels / Shield me this night and every night. . . ." (350; III, 393) Yet, the Gaelic in the two texts is virtually identical: "Agus dithis aingeal coimhideachd" (345; III, 376) and "Agus an dithis aingeal choimheadachd" (350; III, 392) "Attendant" and "guardian" are simply two translations of essentially the same word. In fact, Carmichael Watson translates coimhideachd as "attendant" in "Death of Unction" (345; III, 377) and as "guardian" in "Angel Guardian" (261; III, 151). So, perhaps the "two attendant/guardian angels" are simply the popular "guardian angel" times two.

The language of guardianship or attending implies the protective role which angels most often play in CG (and elsewhere). The idea of angels as warrior protectors, as intermediaries of God, encompassing the believer, and guiding him/her to heaven all come together in "Soul-Shrine."

> Thou angel of God who hast charge of me / From the fragrant Father of mercifulness, / The gentle encompassing of the Sacred Heart / To make round my soul-shrine this night . . . // Ward from me every distress and danger, / Encompass my course over the ocean of truth. . . . // Be Thyself the guiding star above me, / Illume Thou to me every reef and shoal, / Pilot my barque on the crest of the wave, / To the restful haven of the waveless sea. . . . (39; I, 93)

Note that it is the encompassing of the Sacred Heart that the angel makes around the believer's body, and not the angel's own power. In a Psalm which affirms God's protective presence with the faithful, the role of angels is mentioned: "The angel of the Lord encamps around those who fear . . . [God], and delivers them." (Ps. 34.7) This image of "encamping" is reminiscent of both the angel/warrior model and the caim tradition of CG. Like the "cross of Christ" texts mentioned in Chapter Four, there are four texts which invoke "the cross of the (nine white[45]) angels to protect the believer. All of them appear in the first section of Volume I which is Carmichael entitles "Invocations": 17; I, 47. 26; I, 67. 36; I, 87. 37; I, 89.

As mentioned before in regard to the named angels, there are many angel texts classified as "co-agent" or "quasi independent" in which the **implied** agency of the

[45] In addition to several references to "white Michael" (e.g., 513; IV, 351), there are four texts referring to "white" angels: 36; I, 87 and 37; I, 89 refer to nine white/fair angels. 85; I, 237: "angel white." 512; IV, 347: "white angels floating in the air" at death.

angel/s is always as intermediary. This is especially important to remember in the seven texts classified as "quasi independent." They are listed at level five of agency simply because there is no explicit **textual** reference to God in them.

So, in CG we see angels portrayed most often as the protectors of the believer, especially in sleep and at death. Yet the angel protector is usually the servant warrior who brings God's power to the faithful. The angel is "in charge" of the believer or their hearth and home: "An angel white in charge of the hearth . . . ." (85; I, 237) or "God, give charge to Thy blessed angels, / To keep guard around this stead to-might." (38; I, 91) Like good soldiers, the angels are called upon to stand guard, to protect. "No evil shall befall you, no scourge come near your tent. For [the Lord] will command his angels concerning you to guard you in all your ways." (Ps. 91.10-11)

• Columba •

> For several centuries Columba was the patron saint of Scotland, till superseded in the south by St. Andrew, through the influence of Margaret, the Saxon wife of Malcolm Canmore. He is still virtually the patron saint of the Highlands, and is held in the highest veneration. (II, 244)

Next to Mary, Brigit and Michael, Columba is a prominent figure in CG, appearing in 56 texts (Patrick appears in only 14.) Carmichael has notes concerning him and his feast day in Volume I, 162-3, and Volume II, 244. His influence was so strong, claims Carmichael, that not only was the second Thursday of June his day, but **every** Thursday was Columba's Day, and was "propitious" for all kinds of activities. "Even the furies, the fairies, the witches, the people of the evil eye, and of druidry, were powerless for evil on Thursday." (II, 244)

Like the other saints and angels, Columba is most often portrayed as a co-agent with God (and other agents.) Eight texts for healing in which he is mentioned are only references (level one agency), but three are at higher levels of agency. In "Blind Seizure" (466, IV; 227-9), the Trinity, he and several other saints are asked to pour healing upon the afflicted. The other two prayers for healing in which he plays an active role, are both for the healing of cattle. "The White Cow" (494; IV, 289-91) and "Charm for Surfeit" (495; IV, 291) both cast Columba as the caring soul who heals cattle. In the prose introduction to "The White Cow," the reciter says,

> Calum Cille never turned a dull ear to the poor, to the penitent, to the distressed. . . . There was no one like Calum Cille, no one, my dear. He was big and handsome and eloquent, haughty to the over-haughty and humble to the humble, kind, kind to the weak and the wounded. . . . (494 notes; IV, 289)

In her introduction to the text, the reciter, Isabel MacEachainn from Mull, says that there was a widow from Tabal, Mull who had a cow sick with surfeit and she saw Columba and his twelve disciples rowing home to Iona. The verse text begins with the woman entreating Columba to come ashore to heal the cow of surfeit. Then,

> Calum Cille came to the knoll, / He set his hand upon the cow; / He set his one foot in the coracle, / His other foot on ground. // [p. 291] 'I myself break thy swelling, / I myself kill thine insect, / I lift from thee thy prickliness, / In name of the King of ages!' (494; IV, 289-91)

Columba is portrayed as a caring saint, willing to come to the aid of a poor woman. The fact that he heals the cow with one foot in the coracle and one on land exhibits his liminal nature. Like the believer who goes to the door jamb to make an invocation, he stands at the threshold between water and land. This line from the text is reminiscent of a passage from Revelation:

> And I saw another mighty angel coming down from heaven, wrapped in a cloud, with a rainbow over his head. . . . Setting his right foot on the sea and his left foot on the land, he gave a great shout, like a lion roaring. . . . Then the angel whom I saw standing on the sea and the land raised his right hand to heaven and swore by him who lives forever and ever . . . : "There will be no more delay, but in the days when the seventh angel is to blow his trumpet, the mystery of God will be fulfilled, as he announced to his servants the prophets." (from Rev. 10.1-7)

Instead of speaking the terrifying words of the angel, Columba heals the cow in God's name. He repeats three times that it is **he** who is healing, and then invokes the name of the "King of ages": "I myself . . . I myself . . . I . . ." (494; IV, 291) If the hearers and users of "The White Cow" were at all familiar with Revelation (and the appeals in CG to the named angels and "the seven angels" would indicate that they may have been), then surely there is a connection between the Columba text and the image from Revelation. As discussed in Chapter Three, liminal places hold great power in CG. Columba is a liminal being who, from the perspective of the believer, once lived but is now dead. He stands at a liminal place and heals the cow in the

power of God's name. The awe inspiring and terrifying angel of Revelation who comes **down** from heaven and speaks of the day of judgement is transformed into the kindly Columba who comes **across** to the shore, helps an old women in distress and cares for animals.

The shorter text which follows "The White Cow" does not retell the story of Columba and the woman. In "Charm for Surfeit," the believer invokes "the foot of Calum Cille in the coracle" (495; IV, 291) to heal the cow. There is no mention of God's name, just the power of the saint's foot (liminality), and so this text is classified as "quasi independent."

Cattle are a recurring theme in the Columba texts in CG. 22 concern cows. There are also three about "St. Columba's Plant" or "St. John's Wort" which, among many things, is believed to help the user's cattle be healthy and productive. Of course, there are Columba texts about the evil eye and blessings for various activities, but 22 or 25 out of 56 texts is a significant number. So, along with Brigit, Columba's agency is often called upon to protect, heal or help cattle and bless their milk products in CG.

"Counteracting the Evil Eye" reinforces this image of Columba at the sea's "threshold" by calling him, "Apostle of shore and sea." (142; II, 49-51) The fluidity of time is also exhibited in calling Columba an "apostle" (if the word is taken in its strictest sense.) If Brigit can be Mary's midwife and Jesus' foster-mother, why not also have Columba be an apostle? In his notes before "The Day of Saint Columba" Carmichael tells of a custom which ties in with Columba's shore-line liminality. He describes a ritual performed on Maundy Thursday (Thursday being Columba's day):

> . . . people in maritime districts [p. 163] made offerings of mead, ale, or gruel to the god of the sea. As the day merged from Wednesday to Thursday a man walked to the waist into the sea and poured out whatever offering had been prepared, chanting:—. . . "O God of the sea, / Put weed in the drawing wave / To enrich the ground, / To shower on us food." Those behind the offerer took up the chant and wafted it along the sea-shore on the midnight air, the darkness of night and the rolling of the waves making the scene weird and impressive. In 1860 the writer conversed in Iona with a middle-aged man whose father, when young, had taken part in this ceremony. (69 notes; I, 162-3)

The believer's participation in the liminality of time and space are staggering in

this ritual. At the threshold between days, the man goes to the border of water and land, walks far enough in the water so that he is half in the water and half dry (to his waist). He pours out an offering/sacrifice on the night on which Christ instituted the Lord's Supper, and asks God to provide sea weed to the wave that it might be brought on shore to nourish the land to produce plentiful food. Thus the believer taps into the power of spatial and temporal limens **and** one of the most important days in the Church's calendar, when its holiest ritual was instituted.

• Apostles •

The "apostle/s," Peter, Paul, James and/or John appear in about the same number of CG texts as angels other than Michael (45). Yet, whereas the angels are named in only one third of the angel texts (14 out of 41), the apostles are named in most of the texts in which they occur (37 out of 45). It would seem that this naming would make them more individual personae, rather than the more "faceless" reference to "saints and apostles all." (106; I, 287) This is contrasted somewhat by the fact that, other than a few simple reference texts, the apostles are always with each other or other agents, and usually they are not the key players in the text.

It is virtually unheard of in CG to see an apostle by himself in a text. There are several different groupings of the four named apostles in CG (Peter, Paul, James and John), but none of the other apostles are mentioned in CG.[46] Andrew only appears in reference to his feast day,[47] thus reinforcing Carmichael's comment that Columba was still the virtual patron saint of the Highlands. Luke is mentioned in two texts (114; I, 311 and 509; IV, 327), and Stephen in one (114; I, 311). John the Baptist is present in six texts. Lastly, a pray-er asks to be shielded from Judas in the "Sleep Prayer." (31; I, 77)

Peter, Paul, James and John appear with each other in quite a number of texts. All four are alluded to in eight texts. Peter and Paul are coupled in eight texts also. The most frequent grouping is Peter, Paul and John who are mentioned together in 12 texts. The triad of Peter, James and John is in one text, as is the duo of Peter and

[46] Andrew, Thomas, Matthew, Philip, Bartholomew, Thaddaeus, Simon the Cananaean, and James son of Alphaeus (Mt. 10.2).

[47] "Feast of Andrew": 118; I, 327. 412; IV, 119.

James. There are no texts which refer only to the apostles Peter, Paul, and James. A few last figures are worth noting: Peter is in the most texts, 32; Paul, 31; John, 23; and James, 10.

On the whole, the apostles' agency does not differ much from the other saints in the percentage of texts at the various levels except in the strongest: quasi independent. Whereas 14 percent of Mary texts, 20 percent of Brigit texts and 16 percent of Columba's texts are quasi independent, only 2 percent of the apostle texts are. (Peter and Paul are in the only quasi independent apostle text: "Charm for Evil Eye" (439; IV, 181-3)—they are joined by Brigit, Columba, Patrick and Mary.) This fact, coupled with their tendency always to be in groups paints a picture of the apostles as the part of the **group** rather than as individuals to which the believer appealed. They often 'fill out' the communion which also lists the Trinity, saints and angels. For instance, in "Invocation at Churning" the apostles are not asked by the believer to help make the butter. That is asked of Columba, Brigit and Mary. Rather, in requesting help from these saints, the pray-er says:

> Come, thou Brigit, handmaid calm, / Hasten the butter on the cream; / Seest thou impatient Peter yonder / Waiting the buttered bannock white and yellow. // . . . Come, thou Mary Mother mild, / Hasten the butter on the cream; / Seest thou Paul and John and Jesus / Waiting the gracious butter yonder. (398; IV, 87)

(Columba is reminded of the "orphans unregarded" who wait for butter.) In "Smooring the Fire," the apostles play a similar role, on the periphery of the scene. They are clearly present, but not the most important or emphasized agents among the group:

> The encompassment of Bride and of Mary, / Guarding the hearth, guarding the floor, / Guarding the household all. // Who are they on the lawn without? / Michael the sun-radiant of my trust. / Who are they on the middle of the floor? / John and Peter and Paul. / Who are they by the front of my bed? / Sun-bright Mary and her Son. // . . . An angel white in charge of the hearth. . . . (85; I, 237)

In "Charm for the Toothache" which the text says was used by Columba on Maol Iodha, Peter complains to James that he suffers from a toothache: " '. . . it is with me lying down and rising / And leaping on my soles.' // Said Christ answering the problem, / 'The toothache and the rune / Shall not henceforth abide in the same

head.'" (446; IV, 199) So, an apostle is the **occasion** for a "rune," not the donor. Another reference to the apostles also affirms Christ's power to heal and help: "He gave strength to Peter and Paul. . . ." (461; IV, 211) Again, the apostles are recipients of Christ's assistance, not agents of strength. (It is the Trinity who is invoked to heal the sprain.)

These texts, and others like them, show that the apostles are part of this communion of friendly and helpful beings which surround the believer with love and protection. It is just that the apostles are not the strongest individuals in this community. Nonetheless, Peter, Paul, James, and John **are** members of this fellowship, and they are mentioned in a significant number of texts— even if they never stand center stage.

• HUMAN AGENTS •

God's power and love are not only experienced through the agency of saints and angels in CG. Human beings can participate in this loving community of the Trinity, saints and angels not only as petitioners, but also as the conduit through which God sends healing or divination.

• Healers •

There are 94 texts having to do with healing physical ailments in CG.[48] Adding 28 texts to "cure" or ward away the evil eye, and 30 texts about healing/protective plants, it brings the total to 152. Clearly, healing is an important function in CG. These 152 texts are found in two sections of CG. The first 56 are in Volume II (edited by Alexander Carmichael, most of the texts from 122 to 132; II, 3-21 and from 140 to 190; II, 43-141), and the other 96 are in Volume IV (edited by James Carmichael Watson; 411-506; IV, 117-313.)

In Volumes I and II, Carmichael does not offer a great deal of introductory notes for each text. He has a few long sections in which he discusses various customs, or he speaks briefly about a reciter's good nature before their verse text. James Carmichael Watson, however, includes fairly extensive prose introductions or accounts by the reciter, or comments from Carmichael in a series of prayers for

[48] 94 texts includes eight subsection texts of "Checking of Blood" (491.1 to 491.8; IV, 280-5.)

healing in Volume IV (426 to 506; IV, 151-313). These notes are helpful in providing the reader with a better context for the use of some of these so-called charms. These prose accounts by reciters, or comments by Carmichael emphasize their belief that the power to heal does not lie within them, but rather that it is God who heals through them. Because these notes are spread through a large section of Volume IV, it will be helpful to the reader to reiterate some of the passages most relevant to the understanding of human healers and their relationship with God:

"Charm for Swollen Breast." Christ gave the example of how a man can heal woman's breast without touching it. Reciter:

> Many a great and good thing Christ did on earth, and especially to poor women who were suffering pain and tribulation and shame, in silence of head and in soreness of heart. Many a one that! . . . But I had no witchcraft, nor anything in creation except the power that God gave me, the God of life and of the worlds, to Whom I prayed to increase my love, to confirm my earnestness, to bless my words and to strengthen my hands. And God did that; the glory be to Him and not to me! (445 notes; IV, 197)

"Charm for Sprain" Carmichael:

> This and every other charm is performed in reliance on the power of God, never on the performer's own skill. (461 notes; IV, 209)

"The Charm of the Scale" Verse text:

> Certain that They will do to me / The thing that it becomes me to ask, / The thing that accords with Their mind, / The thing that is causing pain, / The thing that is worthy to be done / Of the Trinity kindly and just." [In notes on p. 225, the reciter says:] "And I ask the everlasting Trinity of life to grant me my prayer if it be Their own will so to do and if the asking be in accord with Their mind. (465; IV, 223)

"The Mote" A man and his brother, who had a herring scale in his eye, travel to see a woman who "possessed the Charm of the Mote" (p. 230) but it did not work. Reciter:

> We left to come home. Coming over by Sanndaig my brother felt a sudden tremor and severe pain in his eye, as quick as a flash of lightning. 'It has gone!' said my brother. . . . We gave thanks to the great God of life, to Christ, and to the gentle Mary Mother, and turned back on the track the way we had come. [¶] The woman who had performed the charm saw the boat coming and met us on the beach. Before we were out of the boat the woman called to us that at last she had succeeded with the mote. 'It was wicked lack of faith that came on me and lay like a shadow on my soul; but I prayed the God of grace to aid and help me and to give my power back to me, and in His own loving-

kindness and great goodness He did so. Look you, there is the mote that was in the eye,' said the woman. [¶] She had a little basin of water in her hand and the herring-scale on the surface of the water in the basin. (467; IV, 231)

"Charm for the Mote" Probably the reciter:

The woman will say the Credo of Mary in her heart, and she will make the cross of Christ on the eye, and the woman will lick the eye with the tongue. And nothing of this will the woman do in her own strength, but altogether in the strength of the living God Who created the eye and established its form. (475 notes; IV, 247)

"The Chest Seizure" Carmichael:

The patient comes to live in the house of the person who works the cure, and remains there until a cure is effected. No charge is ever made for either the treatment or the lodging, these kindly people doing it all, as they say, for the love of Him Whose example they are following. (477 notes; IV, 250)

"King's Evil" Verse text:

May God heal thee, my dear; / I am now placing my hand on thee / In name of Father, in name of Son, in name / of Spirit of virtue. . . . (488; IV, 275)

"Checking of Blood" Carmichael:

It was always emphasised that the 'eòlas' must be performed with faith and earnestness, by one of upright life and pure heart. Those who perform it are following the example of Christ, as are those who cure mote in the eye, consumption, burst vein, and other ailments. The 'eòlas' is without effect on an unbaptised person, nor has it any effect if the performer should take food or drink, even a mouthful of water, without giving thanks. (491.1 notes; IV, 280)

"Checking of Blood" Reciter:

I saw my father perform blood-checking for a man on the other side of the water (the Kyle of Sutherland). . . . The man's sons came across the water at imminent peril. . . . [p. 282] . . . My father went on his two knees and prayed earnestly to the God of life to grant him his prayer and to stop the blood. When he got up he said to the man's sons, 'The blood has stopped and your father is well.' (491.3 notes; IV, 281-2)

"Checking of Blood" Reciter:

A man must live near to his God before he can stop bleeding; without that he does not receive the power. (491.5 notes; IV, 283)

"Charm" Verse text:

As Jesus healed the people, / It is in His nature to heal each of these distresses. (506; IV, 313)

Carmichael seems to have gone to some effort to gather these comments while collecting the prayers themselves. It is helpful that Carmichael Watson includes them in the introduction to many of the Volume IV prayers—especially the ones called charms—to ensure that the reader understands the context of belief in which such prayers were made. We learn several important things from these passages. First, many healers saw themselves as following Christ's example as the great Healer. The scripture passage from John: "Very truly, I tell you, the one who believes in me will also do the works that I do and, in fact, will do greater works than these, because I am going to the Father." (Jn. 14.12) This is true even of the healing at a distance (see the healing of the centurion's servant, Mt. 8.5-13; 491.3 notes; IV, 281-2 and 467; IV, 230-1 above). Second, the healer must be a person of great faith, and "pure heart." (See Mt. 17.19-20: "If you have the faith the size of a mustard seed . . ."; 467; IV, 230-1 and 491.1; IV, 280 above.) Third, the healer does not receive payment or any material benefit for the practice. Here we see an example of a closely knit community who care for each other, each using their particular gifts. The lack of payment reinforces the fourth, and most important idea: that it is God who heals, not the human conduit. Note the text in which the pray-er says: "May God heal thee, my dear; / I am now placing my hand on thee. . . ." (488; IV, 275) The believer who heals in God's name is participating in God's ordering of the world, and following the example of Christ. Notice in "The Mote" (467; IV, 230-1) the men first thank God when the mote is removed and **then** they return to see the woman healer.

The agency here is as a channel of God's grace and healing. The conduit must be pure and have faith, **and** possess the "charm." This is not a common combination, so there are only a few healers for particular ailments—specialized medicine! Plants also figure into this picture, for there is often an herb or flower which the healer uses along with the words to enable the tapping into God's power. Again, this is a unified order in which each creature, person, and agent has their proper role. The faithful person who understands this is able to participate in the order and benefit from God's healing in so doing. This is also the image of persons who perform the augury, or divination. Because augury involves 'reading' the natural world, it is discussed later

in the next section concerning nature as 'agent.'

• Nature: more than metaphor •

The use of folkloric accounts to create an understanding of the world around the believers has already been mentioned in Chapter Three. These stories are particularly important when the reader examines the role of nature in CG. There are many accounts in CG which invest the animals, plants, and even insects of the Scottish Highlands and Islands with a close connection to the world of scripture. It could be argued that the elements of nature (animals, plants, insects, the sun and moon) discussed in this section could rightly be called 'agents.' Although they are usually not 'agents' in the same sense as the other figures discussed in this chapter, creatures, and creation often engage the believers of CG as fellow beings, part of God's ordering. Except for the anthropomorphization of some of the creatures, they do not have the same personal volition that the saints and angels do. Nevertheless, creatures and elements of nature do play an important role in the relationship of the believer to God in CG.

Although there are some instances where creatures or elements of nature are symbols or metaphors in CG, they are usually much more than this. For instance, the butterfly has often been seen in Christian traditions as a symbol of Christ's resurrection because of its transformation in the cocoon. In CG, however, the yellow butterfly is more than a symbol, more than a metaphorical carrier of the soul, it literally bears the soul of the departed to heaven. If it is not seen, the friends of the dead person make a substitute "by rapidly twirling a fire-pointed stick, moving the while from the dead or dying person towards the door or window." (II, 268) Thereby, they assist the swift departure of the soul in the stead of the butterfly.

Another account in CG claims the yellow butterfly did not exist until Christ came to earth, died and rose from the dead. "The true Yellow Butterfly, they say, came out of the Holy Tomb, and that Yellow Butterfly spread throughout the world." (357 notes; IV, 5) Carmichael says that there are cases told of when a person's body has lived on for a time without a soul because the butterfly (or bee) carrying the soul was prevented from reentering when a neighbor unwittingly killed it. (II, 361-2) It is

clear from these accounts that the butterfly's resurrection role is seen as much more than symbolic, it is concrete.

Another example of the power of these folkloric beliefs in the world view of the believer is the story about the aspen tree. Its use is 'crossed' or banned because it is believed that it was arrogant and would not bow down before Christ, and because it was used to make the cross (169 notes; II, 104). Its ban is absolute and a true believer would never use it in any form "either on land or sea." (II, 259)

> Hence the ever-tremulous, ever-quivering, ever-quaking motion of the guilty hateful aspen even in the stillest air. [¶] Clods and stones and other missiles, as well as curses, are hurled at the aspen by the people. The reciter, a man of much natural intelligence, said that he always took of [sic.] his bonnet and cursed the hateful aspen in all sincerity wherever he saw it. (169 notes; II, 105)

The aspen tree is not simply a poetic metaphor for arrogance in CG, but every aspen tree is to be seen as cursed, and to be shunned. Even its physical appearance betrays its guilt.

Other plants, animals and even insects were despised and avoided in CG. The 'bird-cherry' was seen as the Biblical cursed fig-tree (Mark 11.13 f.), and its use was banned. (II, 290) The black beetle betrayed Christ to the soldiers in the flight to Egypt, or to the 'Jews' before his crucifixion and so it is always killed whenever encountered. (208; II, 188 f. II, 267. 356 notes; IV, 3) The 'fairy mouse' or lesser shrew was much disliked because it was believed to cause paralysis in sheep and cattle by running across their backs in a 'fairy riding.' (II, 322) The reed was cursed because it was believed to have been used to give the sponge of vinegar to Christ on the cross. (417; IV, 127)

These cursed creatures often have 'blessed' counter-parts in CG. The rowan tree is sacred and is used for fires to cook the festival bannocks, and to carry or make coffins. (II, 246) (Carmichael does not give the lore which explains why the rowan is sacred—perhaps because it is pre-Christian.) The 'sacred beetle' who lied to protect Christ is never killed, just turned on its back because it lied. (208; II, 188 f. II, 267. 356 notes; IV, 3) The 'field mouse' or common shrew is carried live across the backs of paralyzed animals as a cure for the 'fairy riding' by the fairy mouse. (II, 322)

Linen, flax, or 'lint' is considered sacred because Christ is believed to have been wrapped in it in the tomb. It is, therefore, used in some healing prayers using thread, or protective objects. (II, 319. 272 notes; III, 183. 461 notes; IV, 208) "There were three thefts from which there was no absolution. . . . It would need three priests three times to bring from out of Purgatory the thief of salt or the thief of seed or the thief of flax." (272 notes; III, 183)

It was mentioned in the discussion of anthropomorphism that thunder was sometimes seen as the voice of God (302; III, 273), and the sun as the face of God (see below). The weather on the day of death was seen as an indicator of God's judgement:

> The old people had a great desire for good weather at the death and burial of a person. It was a good sign that the elements should be at peace at that time. . . . If there was peace on earth it was a sign that there was peace in heaven and a welcome for him who had gone and that the King of all creatures was at peace with him and His own two mighty arms open to take the immortal soul home to Himself. . . . If the weather was bad it was a sign that God was wroth. (342 notes; III, 369)

So, although the weather is not exactly an agent—more an anthropomorphism—it does express God's 'emotions.'

Even the Gaelic names of some of the plants and creatures tell of their folkloric associations. The 'fairy mouse' (Gaelic: lucha-shith) has already been mentioned. The Gaelic name for the yellow butterfly is literally translated as "fire of God" (dealan-De; II, 267). The Gaelic name for 'passion flower' (ceus-chrann) translates as "crucifying tree." "The people say that drops of the sacred blood fell upon the plant at the foot of the Cross, and that hence the semblance of the cross on the flower and the name given to the plant." (II, 249)

Many of the folkloric accounts in CG appear to be teaching or reinforcing morality messages (e.g., be faithful to Christ, but don't lie, like the sacred beetle.) Yet, as stated before, many creatures and elements of nature are more than metaphors (or morality allegories), they have real earthly power (usually either for good or ill). Although they are sometimes used to show characteristics of God (e.g., as Creator: God of the sun, God of the elements) they often stand with their own importance and power. I will briefly discuss a few of the agency of some creatures and elements of

nature in CG. Some are powerful, and to be revered and respected. Others assist healing. Many are used for protection against evil or harm. Some are omens assisting in divination.

• Sun and Moon •

The sun and the moon (especially the new moon) figure prominently in several texts in CG.[49] There are three prayers of greeting of the sun in CG (two are under the number 316). They are rather different from each other, though the first two both begin with the man taking his hat off to the sun when first he sees it. The first prayer (actually three prayer fragments) praises the sun as the "eye of the great God . . . [and the] Face of the God of life." (316; III, 307) Through the sun, God looks at the world. In the second prayer, which is part of a longer prose account, the believer, an old man, greets the sun with uncovered bowed head in the morning, " . . . giving glory to the great God of life for the glory of the sun and for the goodness of its light to the children of men and to the animals of the world." (316 notes; III, 309) Here he appears to be giving thanks to God for the sun rather than addressing the sun directly. At sunset the man would again remove his hat and bow his head. This time he addresses the sun and uses the sunset as a metaphor for God's loving mercy: "I am in hope, in its proper time, / That the great and gracious God / Will not put out for me the light of grace / Even as thou dost leave me this night." (316; III, 309) The third prayer simply praises the sun's strength and power with no mention of any connection with God. (317; III, 311)

So, in the first two texts the sun is strongly connected with God: as God's 'eye,' as a gift from God to the world, and as a metaphor for grace. The third text 'hails' the sun as the "mother of the stars," etc. In all the texts, the sun is revered and respected. As mentioned before, a faithful believer might be gifted with the vision of the sun dancing on Easter morning—again participating in the God's 'kingdom.'

There are fourteen texts concerning the moon in CG. They, like the few addressing the sun, vary somewhat in their references to God, but all show thankfulness and praise for the gift of the light of the moon. In "Charm for Chest

[49] Two texts for the sun: 316-317; III, 307-311. 14 for the moon: 54; I, 123. 303-315; III, 275-305.

Seizure" the moon and sun and many elements join with the saints to contribute to the healer's power:

> Power of moon have I over thee, / Power of sun have I over thee, / Power of rain . . . / dew . . . / sea . . . / land . . . / stars . . . / planets . . . / universe . . . / skies . . . / saints . . . / heaven . . . / Power of heaven and power of God have I over thee. . . . (480; IV, 257)

This text recalls again "St. Patrick's Breastplate." O'Donoghue's translation reads: "For my shield this day I call: / Heaven's might, / Sun's brightness, / Moon's whiteness, / Fire's glory, / Lightning's swiftness, / Wind's wildness, / Ocean's depth, / Earth's solidity, / Rock's immobility."[50] Not only does the believer in CG invoke the power of the elements and God to heal the seizure, she also places the 'exorcised' illness onto nature. She places a part on nine things: stones, mountains, cascades, clouds, whales, meadow-beasts, swamps, moors, and "A part on the great surging sea—/She herself has best means to carry [variant: right]. . . ." (480; IV, 257) There are a number of texts in which the evil eye or an illness is removed from the person and placed on the 'strong back' of nature—especially rocks, mountains, and the sea. This is an excellent example of the elements of nature assisting the believer in the healing process.

The sun and the moon are also portrayed as part of the community of God's kingdom in one of the "Blessings" in Volume III. The giver of the blessing wishes "The love and affection of heaven. . ." the saints, the angels, the sun, and the moon upon the blessed. (277.30; III, 209) Investing the sun and moon with the ability to feel "love and affection" seems to imply the kind of agency discussed in this chapter—perhaps at the co-agency level, in cooperation with heaven, saints and angels.

The agency of the sun, moon, and other natural elements may not always be clear in CG, but they are often personified members of the friendly community of God. One reciter sums up this view well: "Is it not much meeter for me to bend my body to the sun and to the moon and to the stars, that the great God of life made for my good, than to the son or daughter of earth like myself?" (303 notes; III, 274-5)

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[50] O'Donoghue, *Introduction*, p. 47.

• Plants •

There has been some discussion of plants under the role of saints as donors of 'charms' or plants, but a few more comments may be helpful. Like the "Kidney of Mary" seed mentioned in the discussion of childbirth in Chapter Three, many of the plants in CG are described as being used for healing or protection. There is a section with 12 plant texts in Volume IV (411-422; IV, 117-139). In many of these texts (and other plant texts in the collection), the plant itself is addressed in the vocative, e.g., "Thou ragwort! thou ragwort!" (414; IV, 121) In "The Reed" the plant is not only addressed, but it is also the voice of mourning for the Christ crucified, or interpreted another way, is the voice of Christ himself, dying on the cross:

> Thou reed unblest, / Thou reed unholy, / Thou reed wherewith was given / The drink accurst; / Every wind that sobs / Over knoll and plain / Groans the death-groan / Through the reed accurst, / Through the reed accurst! (417; IV, 127)

There is clear personification of the plant in this text. For its use to vinegar to Christ on the cross, it will be forever cursed. The sound of reeds in the wind is the cry of death. Like the weather on the day of a burial, creation is once again the medium through which God speaks. The reed is more than a metaphor in this text. It is a physical reminder of the sacrifice of Christ. The personification of plants is usually more positive, in the joy the believer feels on discovering a protective plant: "Thou shamrock of grace, / Of joy, of the tombs, / It were my wish in death / Thou shouldst grow on my grave." (422; IV, 139)

Carmichael uses interesting language to describe the use of the "figwort":

> On the mainland the figwort is known for its medicinal properties, and in the islands for its magical powers. On the mainland the leaf of the plant is applied to cuts and bruises and the tuber to sores and tumours. In the islands the plant was placed on the cow fetter, under the milk boyne, and over the byre door, to ensure milk in the cows. (159 notes; II, 78)

Carmichael's use of the word "magical" in this context is loaded. From the perspective of the believer, why is the gift by God of a plant for medicine any different than the gift by God of a plant for protection? In one of the prayers for the culling of the figwort, the pray-er says she will pluck the figwort, "As the King of

kings ordained, / To put milk in pap and gland, / As the Being of life ordained, / To place substance in udder and kidney. . . ." (159; II, 85) She clearly sees the plant as a part of God's order of creation, designed to help the making of good milk.

In addition to the use of the figwort, there are a number of plants mentioned which were used as a protective of the cattle and/or the milk (e.g., the mothan, 420; IV, 132-5; the rowan, II, 246; catkin, II, 253; and ivy, II 280). In many cases, these plants or others, alone or in combination, were made into a hoop for protection. Sometimes, "This was bound with a triple cord of lint in name of Father, and of Son, and of Spirit, and placed under the milk vessels, to prevent witches spiriting away the substance of the milk." (II, 319) Again, we see the believer using many God-given 'tools' to protect cattle: protective plants, bound by sacred linen, in three strands (sacred number), and the invocation of the Trinity. Just as there are saintly, angelic, and human agents for healing and protection in CG, so too are there plants which "the King" has ordained to assist the believer.

• Omens and Divination•

The last important role which creatures, or elements of nature play in CG that I would like to discuss briefly is as omens. In some texts concerning divination, the human agent encounters the created order with a certain viewpoint. The human agent is, in a sense, 'reading' the environment around him/her. The image in CG is one of a person who is seeing something which is actually there. It is not a vision of something outside physical reality. It is an accurate reading of the created order, gifted by God—that is, the ability to read is a gift as is creation. The immanence of God, the pervading presence of God, is all around the believer. Just as not every person has the gift of healing, so there are certain people in CG gifted with the ability to read omens, and divine matters in the present. "The gift of 'frìtheireachd' was inherited; sometimes it appeared in one member of a family but not in others, and sometimes it disappeared from a family to reappear later. . . ." (572 notes; V, 286) The prose account of one reciter from Benbecula tells of Duncan MacInnes: "He was a man who was famed for augury, and people would be coming to him from far and near from every place." (574.3; V, 295) These augurers are following the example of

Mary who are said to have performed the augury to find Jesus when he was missing at age 12. (194 notes; II, 159)

Most animals which are ominous, are only 'readable' as good or bad in their **context**. The swan, it seems, is an exception to this and is always seen as a good omen, and is treated with great reverence.

> To see seven, or a multiple of seven, swans on the wing ensures peace and prosperity for seven, or a multiple of seven years. . . . Swans are said to be ill-used religious ladies under enchantment. . . . They are therefore regarded with loving pity and veneration, and the man who would injure a swan would thereby hurt the feelings of the community. (211 notes; II, 194-5)

In addition to the "Augury of Mary" text mentioned earlier (194; II, 159), Carmichael includes four verse texts which speak of the interpretation of **animals** as omens (most of them ill omens) in Volume II (203-206; II, 179-185). In the first, the sounds of a lamb, snipe, and cuckoo in certain situations, and the snail, wheatear, foal, in particular contexts all lead the believer to interpret: "That the year would not go well with [him/her]. . . ." (203; II, 179) The others are similar interpretive verse texts. There is greater detail about the interpretation of animals, birds, insects and human beings as omens in a longer section of notes and texts in Volume V (572-5; V, 286-97). Many of these omens are 'read' in the context of making the augury/divination (Gaelic: frìth). As stated before in reference to thresholds, the augury is performed by the augurer standing at the doorstep with closed eyes, with prayer and supplication to God. Then, Carmichael says, "the augurer opened his eyes and looked steadfastly straight in front of him. From the nature and position of the objects within his sight, he drew his conclusions." (194 notes; II, 158) The 'objects' which are interpreted and which are listed by Carmichael in notes in various places,[51] are virtually all living creatures (including people).

• Conclusions: Nature as resource given by God •

Animals, plants, insects, and elements of nature can act as a kind of 'agent' for

[51] The best account of the understanding of creatures as omens is in 572 notes; V, 286 f. as mentioned above. In addition to this section and the others mentioned above, there are a few more worth noting: the cock, 360 notes; IV, 6. another reference to the swan, II, 276. the grass mouse and water-vole, II, 322. the foal, II, 349. the golden butterfly, II, 267. the call of the grey hen, II, 318.

the experience of God in CG. God is often seen as the creator of all the plants, animals, birds, and insects. They are often invested with anthropomorphic characteristics as morality lessens, but they also act as tools—even agents—for protection, healing, and divination. God has created an order in which God's providential care can be experienced in the plants and creatures. Isabel MacEachainn, one of Carmichael's reciters says:

> Great is the virtue that is in the plants of the ground and in the fruit of the sea, were we but to hold them in esteem and turn them to good use—O King, great indeed! The Being of life never set a thing in the creation of the universe but He set some good within it—He never did. (419 notes; IV, 131)

• Fairies •

Not all agents in CG are friendly. By far the most numerous references to malevolent (or at least ambiguously evil) creatures in CG are to the fairies. A fairy (or fairy arrow, fairy wort, etc.) or fairies are mentioned in 56 texts. 39 of these texts appear in Volume V (mostly between 534 and 568; V, 109-269). This long section contains many 'fairy songs or lullabies,' and four texts about 'fairy changelings' (fairy babies switched with mortal ones). Save one, every reference to fairies in the first four volumes is negative, i.e., protection is sought from them, or their weapons. "Bless, O Chief of Generous Chiefs" is a good example of this prayer for protection from the fairies. It lists many preternatural creatures in addition to the reference to fairy, which only comes through the mentioning of the "fairy-mouse":

> Bless, O Chief of generous chiefs, / Myself and everything anear me. . . . / Make Thou me safe for ever. / From every brownie and ban-shee, / From every evil wish and sorrow, / From every nymph and water-wraith, / From every fairy-mouse and grass-mouse. // From every troll among the hills, / From every siren hard pressing me, / From every ghoul within the glens, / Oh! save me till the end of my day. (10; I, 31)

The exception to this fear of fairies in Volumes I to IV is a short blessing entitled, "Peace." In it, the pray-er invokes the peace of joys, lights, consolations, souls, heaven, the virgins, and "The peace of the fairy bowers. . . . (300; III, 269) Other than the word "heaven," there are no explicitly Christian references in this text. The Volume V texts are much more ambiguous than those from Volumes I to IV, with

love songs, and stories of fairies making deals with mortals.[52] Of course, the four "Fairy Changeling" texts (565-568; V, 255-69), portrayals of the theft of human babies by fairies, are negative. Although the stories of fairy lovers are poignant, they all seem tragic for the mortal, so that they seem to be chastening the hearer not to be seduced by the charms of the fairy bower.

Carmichael includes fives pages of notes on fairies (sith, sithich) in the notes of Volume II (pp. 352-358). In them, he gives a condensed version of a tale given to him and John Francis Campbell regarding the origin of the fairies. It paints a picture of the sovereign God, with a slight twist:

> The Proud Angel fomented a rebellion among the angels of heaven, where he had been a leading light. He declared that he would go and found a kingdom of his own. When going out at the door of heaven the Proud Angel brought . . . [p. 353] prickly lightning and biting lightning, out of the door-step with his heels. Many angels followed him—so many that at last the Son called out, 'Father! Father! the city is being emptied!' whereupon the Father ordered that the gates of heaven and of hell should be closed. This was instantly done; and those who were in were in, and those who were out were out; while the hosts who had left heaven and had not reached hell, flew into the holes of the earth . . . like the stormy petrels. (II, 352-3)

Here we see the heavenly Father having to order that the door of heaven be shut to keep all his angels from leaving! Although he commands, this is not the kind of omnipotent God one usually encounters in Christianity. With the help of the Son, however, the Father keeps the rebellion under control. There are many liminal images in this short tale. The doorway is referred to several times. Also, the fairies seem by their very nature to be liminal—they are trapped in the human liminality, 'between' heaven and hell. The tale ends with a much more powerful image of the sovereign who is in control of the ordered universe: "These are the fairy folks—ever since doomed to live under the ground, and only permitted to emerge when and where the King permits." (II, 353) This final image is in keeping with the role of so many of the CG agents as members of God's kingdom. Even these malevolent beings are part of God's creation and order. It also helps to explain why, although the fairies are to be feared, the believer can trust that if he/she relies on God, and takes the proper precautions, that the fairies will not prevail.

[52] There is one prayer for protection from fairies in Volume V (564; V, 251).

• Conclusions: Agency •

There are many figures in CG which influence the experience of God for the believer. Their agency can be everything from a passing reference to their name, to being the only agent listed in a text. The model of believer as client, the Trinity as king/nobles, and saints as bards/druids fits many of the CG texts. The collection as a whole portrays the Trinitarian God as a benevolent sovereign who provides a created community with much to assist the believer: wise and friendly saints, strong and compassionate angels, human beings with the gift of healing and divination, the sun and moon, plants, animals, insects, the wind and weather. The world is not without pain, struggle, and even evil; but the believer can trust in the loving power of God and the agents of God to see him/her through.

• Conclusions: The Experience of God in Everyday Life in Alexander Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica* •

In reviewing the central points of this thesis, several key words emerge: collector, liminality, caim, prayer, immanence, and agent. **Collector**: to ignore the role of Alexander Carmichael in the creation of *Carmina Gadelica* is to lose sight of aspects of the beauty of the collection, and also some of its limitations. Carmichael was a man of his time, who had no twentieth century concept of a static 'text.' He merged variants together to create the 'best' version which he felt reflected the tradition, and showed the Highlander in a positive light. Despite his remarkable ability to gather even the most private prayers, the collection is still limited by the screening and editing processes of the reciters, Carmichael, and other editors. It is, however, an admirable achievement to have collected so many texts, from this geographical area, over a lifetime. To remember the collector is also to remember the reciters, and not to imply, as some popular publications of CG texts do, that each prayer is from some dusty, 'ancient' manuscript. While it is not unique, CG is rare in its depiction of the prayer life of lay people, especially that of women.

Liminality: the importance of spatial and temporal thresholds in CG is clear. Many times, the experience of God's power is assisted by marking or using such liminalities. This emphasis on borders is also exemplified by the many texts in which

God's presence is invoked as a protective shield surrounding the believer—**caim** texts. These prayers echo the lorica tradition of early manuscripts. The definition of **prayer** is also relevant when examining CG. The reader may not feel that all texts are ones that he/she can pray authentically, but this does not preclude them from being communication between the believer and God, and, hence, prayers. This is particularly pertinent in those prayers for healing or protection called 'charms,' 'runes,' etc. In the context of the faith of the believer, such prayers are authentic appeals to God's power as promised in scripture or tradition. **Immanence** is another concept whose proper definition clarifies the discussion of CG. God's pervading presence is coordinate with God's transcendence. Only a God who is beyond humanity can be truly immanent. In many CG prayers, God's presence is experienced by the believer through an **agent**, or agents. Just as the presence of God often encompasses the pray-er, so too is he/she surrounded by a 'domestic' communion of saints and angels. The potential for human selfishness, natural and preternatural evil, physical harm and deprivation is present in the prayers of CG; but a strong, caring Trinity and the community of God's agents is trusted above all.

"Who is before me?
Who is behind me?
Who is beneath me?
God and the Lord.

Who upholds me?
The Three of power,
Father and Son
And Spirit of peace."

603; V, 403.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1.1

Dateline for Carmina Gadelica (CG) and Alexander Carmichael

1832 December 1, Alexander Archibald Carmichael is born in Lismore. His father, Hugh Carmichael, lived at one time at Cruit an Lochan, beside the manse in Lismore. (M.A.C.)

* Greenock Academy (probably its predecessor Grammar School, since Greenock Academy was not officially opened until 1855.)
* According to MacLeod (CG IV, xxii) Carmichael attends "a collegiate school in Edinburgh," but it is not known to what institution he might be referring.

1855 (circa) Around age 22, Carmichael begins his official career with the Inland Revenue as a Revenue Officer (exciseman). (CW-527) Carmichael served over the next ten years in Dublin, Islay, Cornwall, Skye and then in North Uist.

1868 January 13, 1868 marries Mary Frances Urquhart Macbean (born 1841) of Burntisland, Fife. Ceremony held at a private home, Number 3 Wardie Avenue, Edinburgh. Although Alexander grew up in the Church of Scotland, and Mary in the Scottish Episcopal Church, the Banns are according to the forms of the Free Church of Scotland, and the ceremony is celebrated by the Rev. Dr. Thomas M'Lauchlan, minister of St. Columba's Gaelic church. (CG IV, p. xlii.) Mary was aged 27, and Alexander was 36. Alexander was a resident of Lochmaddy, North Uist at the time and it is assumed that the couple moved there initially. (Marriage license.) Mary does not speak Gaelic. (CG IV, p.xliv.)

1868 October 28, Alexander (Alec) Francis Carmichael is born. (M.A.C.) (Although Edinburgh Academy lists his birth year as 1872, Laura Mary, his daughter born 1900, said he was born in 1868. Perhaps the Carmichaels gave the Academy a later birth date so Alec could "catch up" on education after the isles.)

1870 The family lodge in Trumisgarry Manse with the Rev. Don Maclean (bachelor). (Letter to James Carmichael Watson from H.H. Mackenzie of Edinburgh dated 15 July 1941).

9 August, Elizabeth Catherine Carmichael is born in Lismore, at Alexander Carmichael's father's family residence at the farm of Cill Anndraist. (CG IV, p. xlii.)

1871 Whitsunday (May 15), 1871, the family move to Creagorry, Benbecula. (Above letter and CG IV, p. xlii.)

1876 March 31, Eoghan Kenneth Carmichael is born.

1878 Still in Creagorry, Benbecula, the family succeed the Rev. Duncan Clark as tenant of land at Creagorry, perhaps the house was called Redbank Cottage. (Mackenzie letter, 15/7/41).
December 16, 1878 Iain Macdonald Carmichael is born.

1879 (ca.) The family move to Scolpaig House, North Uist. The house, with grazing of a cow and a pony, is lent to them by a loyal friend, MacDonald of Newton and Scolpaig. (Mackenzie letter.)

1882 The family move to Edinburgh, and by 1883 reside at 30 Royal Circus, in the Stockbridge area of Edinburgh. (Carmichael-Watson Collection (C-W) 527.)

1882-1892 Carmichael's three sons attend Edinburgh Academy. [Alec: 1882-86; Eoghan: 1883-90; Iain: 1883-92.]

1884 The Napier Crofting Commission Report comes out, in which is Alexander Carmichael's paper: "Grazing and Agrestic Customs in the Outer Hebrides."
December, Carmichael rents Bay Cottage, Airds Bay, Taynuilt, Argyllshire. The family probably use it as a holiday home, and as a base from which to travel to the islands.

1889 By September, 1889 they move a few blocks away from Royal Circus to 29 Raeburn Place, Stockbridge, Edinburgh. (C-W 527).

1893 By October, the family moves to 7 St. Bernard's Row, Stockbridge, Edinburgh. (1895, 1896, 1898 C-W 527; 1897, C-W-500.4.)

1897 Carmichael retires from the Revenue Service around age 65. December, The Board of Inland Revenue writes to him granting him "Freedom from Official labours" after over 41 years of Official service. (C-W 527)
Alexander and Ella Carmichael advertise for subscribers for "Or agus Ob Hymns and Incantations with Introductions and Notes on Natural History, Mythology, Obsolete Terms, and Ancient Customs, orally collected in Gaelic throughout the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, and literally translated into English by Alexander Carmichael. With Illustrations. Glasgow: Archibald Sinclair. 1897." The price: £3 3s. (C-W 500.4.)

1900 Circa October 11(C-W 528A) *Carmina Gadelica Ortha nan Gaidheal* is published in two volumes by T. and A. Constable, Edinburgh. The title page reads: "Carmina Gadelica Hymns and Incantations With Illustrative Notes on Words, Rites, and Customs, Dying and Obsolete: Orally Collected in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland and Translated into English By Alexander Carmichael." It is a limited edition, with only about 300 copies produced.

1901 Whitsunday (May 15) Alexander and Mary move out of Airds Bay Cottage, Taynuilt, Argyllshire. They leave because they are evicted, in part due to Alexander Carmichael's "insolence" in dealing with the proprietor. (C-W 527) They move to 32 Polwarth Gardens, Edinburgh. (C-W 527).

1905 Alexander and Mary Carmichael are granted a Civil List Pension. (CG IV, p.xxiv.)
Carmichael's edition of *Deirdre* . . is published.

1906 Elizabeth (Ella) Carmichael marries William J. Watson. After three years in Inverness, the couple move to Spence Street, Edinburgh in 1909, and eventually live at 17 Merchiston Avenue.

1907 Alexander and Mary Carmichael move to 15 Barnton Terrace, Edinburgh. (C-W 527). Barnton Terrace has been renamed, and number 15 is now 113 Craigleith Road.

1909 Carmichael is granted the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws (LL.D.) by the University of Edinburgh.

1910 James Carmichael Watson (né James Francis Watson), Ella and William Watson's second son, is born.

1912 June 6, Alexander Carmichael dies at home (15 Barnton Terrace), and is buried at Cill Moluag graveyard in Lismore.
Mary Carmichael lives with Ella and her family until her death in 1928, when she is buried next to Alexander in Lismore.

1928 Ella Carmichael dies. The second edition of *Carmina Gadelica* (Volumes I and II) which Ella worked on is published by Oliver and Boyd shortly after her death.

1938 James Carmichael Watson, after his education in Edinburgh (M.A. in Classics, 1932, and M.A. in Celtic, 1934), Dublin, and Bonn, and lecturing in Glasgow, succeeds his father, Prof. William J. Watson, as Professor of Celtic at the University of Edinburgh.

1940 Volume III of *Carmina Gadelica*, edited by James Carmichael Watson is published by Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh.

1941 Volume IV of *Carmina Gadelica*, edited by James Carmichael Watson is published by Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh.
July, James Carmichael Watson joins active service in the Royal Navy in World War II.

1942 March 24, James Carmichael Watson is lost at sea in the Mediterranean.

1954 Volume V of *Carmina Gadelica*, edited by Angus Matheson (McCallum Fleming Lecturer in Celtic, University of Glasgow) is published by Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh and London.

1971 Volume VI of *Carmina Gadelica*, edited by Angus Matheson (Professor of Celtic Languages and Literature, University of Glasgow) is published by Scottish Academic Press, Edinburgh and London. Angus Matheson died in 1962, and his brother William Matheson put a few final touches on the work before seeing to its publication.

ALEXANDER A. CARMICHAEL FAMILY TREE

Alexander Archibald Carmichael (1832-1912) m. Mary Frances Uruquhart Macbean (1841-1928)
(married 13 January, 1868)

- **Alexander Francis (Alec)** (28 Oct., 1868-1941) m. Laura Duke (1867-1956)
  - Alastair (1897-1960) — 1 daughter
  - Kenneth (1899-1992) — 1 son, 1 daughter
  - (Laura) Mary (1900- 1996) — 1 daughter, 2 sons
- **Elizabeth Catherine (Ella)** (Aug. 9, 1870-1928) m. (1906) Prof. William J. Watson (1865-1948)
  - Alexander Carmichael Watson (1908-1923)
  - James Francis (later Carmichael) Watson (1910-1942) (Lost at sea)
- **Eoghan Kenneth** (31 March, 1876-1926) m. Marion E. Gibbons (1878-1966)
  - Michael Alexander (1914-) — 2 sons, 1 daughter
  - Eoghan Lyon (1918- 1945) (Killed in action)
- **Iain Macdonald** (16 Dec., 1878-1928) unmarried

Appendix 1.3

Summary List of Items 488 to 576 in C-W Collection

Introduction

No doubt there are thousands of important manuscripts in libraries around the world languishing untouched because they are not properly catalogued. If they are not listed accurately in the catalogue, then individuals never request them and explore their contents. The following is a brief description of such material, and how I happened upon it.

In May of 1992, Katherine Forsyth and Jo Currie of the University of Edinburgh's Special Collections told me that there were three boxes labelled "*Carmina Gadelica*." in the Carmichael-Watson Collection which were not in MacKechnie's *Catalogue of Gaelic Manuscripts*. They knew that the subject of my Ph.D. thesis is Alexander Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica*, and thought the contents of the boxes might be of interest to me. My thesis is primarily a theological exploration of the English text of the published collection, so my knowledge of Gaelic is minimal (the University's Celtic 1A course). Despite this limitation, I began looking at the manuscripts in August, 1992 and soon realized there was a wealth of material in them. After a few days of initial surveying, it became clear that there were a great deal more than three boxes in the Carmichael-Watson Collection which were not catalogued by MacKechnie. Why he stopped at item number 487 is not clear.

Eventually, 122 uncatalogued items were discovered. Many item numbers have subdivisions marked by letters (e.g., 514A, 514B, etc.) These subdivisions account for 122 items using only item numbers 488 to 576 (89 item numbers.) For clarity of description, I have subdivided a few items, and have indicated this with numerical subdivisions (e.g., 489.1).

After being allowed into the Special Collections strongroom to assess the quantity of material, it became evident that there has been quite a bit of confusion about the numbering of some of the uncatalogued items. 22 items had duplicate numbers. In other words, I found three items numbered 488, and two items each for the numbers 489 to 507. I renumbered these items (now 512-532). The only number for which no item was ever found is 508. This duplicate numbering may have occurred because the items came in after the initial collection, and the librarians gave them numbers continuing on from MacKechnie's, not knowing there were already items with these numbers in the collection. It is difficult to say what actually occurred.

I intentionally entitle this description "Summary List" rather than "Catalogue." The items contain a large amount of material which warrants careful cataloguing by an experienced cataloguer with a good knowledge of Gaelic. I had neither the time nor the experience to undertake this venture. My purpose in publishing this Summary List is to inform others of the kinds of material contained in these previously uncatalogued items, in hopes that further research and cataloguing will result. A brief overview of the contents: 39 items (537-546, 548-576) are boxes or books of newspaper clippings of Gaelic interest (from the turn of the century). I did not have the time to give a detailed account of the contents of these items, but I am sure they are a mine of information. Four items are published books (531, 532, 535, 536). Item 526 is a collection of 28 photographs, including ones of Fr. Allan McDonald, Ella Carmichael Watson's family, William J. Watson, Alexander Macbain with many of his classes. At least 28 items are related to Alexander Carmichael (or his family) and/or *Carmina Gadelica* (CG) (488-507, 510, 512, 519, 520, 524,527, 528, 533). There are many items which are clearly, or possibly, related to three turn of the century Gaelic scholars: Alexander Macbain (510, 511, 514?, 543, 550, 564, 571), Donald MacKinnon (510, 515, 517, 518?, 520, 521, 523?, 526, 528, 534), and William J. Watson (520, 522?, 523?, 525?, 529, 532, 547).

A brief explanation of the manner in which I have constructed the summary list may be helpful. The first element listed is the Carmichael-Watson item number as it now is. As mentioned above, there was some duplicate numbering, so I have indicated in items 512-532 what the previous (prev.) number/s (#) were. Items 533 to 576 had no item number when I examined them, so I assigned them numbers. All these items are now labelled by the library as I list them, and can be accessed without any confusion. Next in the summary list is a brief physical description of the item. Since I did not have the time to foliate the items, I have given an approximate (~) thickness of some bundles, envelopes, etc. to give the reader some idea of the amount of material.

In "General Contents," I attempt to describe the kind of material in the item. Often I may list a series of topics, or titles in Gaelic (G) and in English (E). These are usually not exhaustive, but are merely an attempt to provide an impression of the nature of the material. If there were quite a few tales/entries about a certain topic, I reflected this by putting "several" or "many" in parenthesis after the topic. I have tried to avoid confusing abbreviations, but in addition to the ones listed above, I have occasionally abbreviated: pages (pp.), regarding (re), University of Edinburgh (UOE), postmarked (pstmkd), dated (dtd), compare (cf), and beginning (beg). Several names have also been abbreviated: Alexander Carmichael (AC); James Carmichael Watson (JCW); William J. Watson (WJW); Elizabeth Catherine Carmichael Watson (Ella); Angus Matheson (AM); Hamish R. Robertson, who examined some of the material in the early 1970's, (HRR). (A copy of this Sumary List was given to Mr. Robertson in December, 1994.)

Occasionally, I have included a nota bene (N.B.) section. These were initially for my own research purposes only. Donald Meek and Ronald Black encouraged me to leave these comments in the list. In them, I usually mention people or topics which are particularly interesting. For example, I mention the confusion about the numbers of some of the items. I also point out several items which show how James Carmichael Watson made no effort to conceal material which he judged unfit for publication in Volumes III or IV of CG (e.g., 502B). This material addresses accusations of a 'cover-up' by JCW of AC's supposedly poor collection and editing procedures. I have drawn attention in some N.B.'s to material which was considered for, but not published in, CG. I hope that some of this unpublished material will be published (if it is deserving.) This is especially true for some of Carmichael's material relating to the darker side of belief—monsters, evil, and magic (e.g., 493).

I would like to thank Donald Meek for his encouragement and assistance as I began this endeavour, and in seeing it published. Ronald Black has been very helpful in editing the list, and in double-checking several items in the manuscripts. Lastly, many thanks to the staff of the University of Edinburgh's Special Collections for all their cheerful assistance, especially Katherine Forsyth and Jo Currie for bringing the first items to my attention.

My hope is that many readers will be inspired to come to the University of Edinburgh Library to investigate this collection further. I apologize for any errors or confusing descriptions in this list. I look forward to its being made obsolete by a detailed catalogue of the material.

488A-C
Envelope, 35 x 22.5cm., 2mm. thick.
In red pencil on envelope: "Correspondence of Father Allan MacDonald." This is scored through with blue pencil. Label on envelope to "Angus Matheson., M.A., Department of Celtic." A): Letter from Grogarry dated: 7 March 1895; B): letter dated 21 Dec., 1898 with notes re St. Bride and St. Michael; C): letter from Eriskay dated 25 Nov. 1903.
N.B. Fr. Allan McDonald to AC.

489.1
Sheet of paper, 22 x 12cm., 1 folio.
Typed: "MSS judged worthless--for various reasons. Might be looked through before vol. V is finally passed for press."

489.2
Sheet of paper, 25.5 x 20cm.
Four line fragment of list? beg. "330 sheagh 'n an, 'g an...."

489.3-28
Papers, 26 folios of assorted sizes: 489.3-13, 18 x 12cm.; 489.14-18, 24 x 19cm.; 489.19-22, 33 x 20.5cm.; 489.23-28, 41.5 x 26cm.
All in one hand--not AC's. Appears to be hand copies of legal land documents in Old English.

490
Oliver & Boyd envelope to James Carmichael Watson, 28.5 x 22.5cm.
51 folios: 490.1-13, 23 x 18cm.; 490.14-51, 25 x 21cm.
Handwritten in blue pencil: "Original MSS of Seathan an Rìgh Éireann (typed copy elsewhere)". Several versions (Gaelic) of "Seathan Mac Righ Eirenn". First one in stack is dated January 1905, Oban.

491A-Q
Oliver & Boyd envelope to James Carmichael Watson. In lead pencil: "FAIRIES (Originals) Finished with A.M. read A.M."
28.5 x 22.5cm, 59 folios of assorted sizes.
Gaelic verse and prose, English prose, mostly in AC's hand, some typed. Including: "Lullaby of the Fairy Woman" Eriskay, 24 Abraon (April) 1869; "Tha An Crodh-Laoigh -- Failte Fhir Bhaoghasdail."; "skill in piping & fairies"; "Bean Shìth"; "Bhàlaidh."; "Leannan Siodha"; "Macmhurich Mor"; "Mu Dhearg"; "Horse Fairie" (Uist); "Bonnach Tollt"; "Is [tu?] mo Leanan Dualach Donn."; "Oaths"; "Fear Achadh nan Gart."; "Crodh Chailein" (fragment); "Cailleach Beinn Na Bric." (Harris); "Siodhaich"; "Bhean Shith"; " 'For' Macneill Bharraidh agus 'For' " (Barra, 21 June 1870); "A Bhean Siodh (rough draft)." (21 April 1906, Viewforth House, Edinburgh–on the back drafts of prayers in English with changes); "Sithe[an]"; "An Sifire."
N.B. AC's drafts of prayers with changes in English.

492
Envelope with "Proverbs (have been typed on cards) may contain some words?.." in lead pencil and again in blue pencil. "Finished with A.M." in black ink, ~1cm thick.
Hand-written proverbs mostly in Gaelic. Many with "Sean-fhacaill" (proverbs) at the top. Most look like AC's hand.

493

University of Edinburgh (UOE) envelope addressed to Prof. J.C. Watson with "Original MSS concerning omens, 'horoscopes' &c" in blue pencil, ~2.5cm thick.
Gaelic and English handwritten (mostly AC's) manuscripts, notes and rough drafts from 1897 and later, about: omens, auguries, lamb sacrifice, devil worship, ocean banks, fire worship, Morag, Highland fairies, house gods, deities, ogres, spectres, goat beings, Peallaidh, submerged islands, figwort, iollainean, things forbidden, horoscope / frith / divination, second sight, witch / buitseach, slinnean / augury.
N.B. Hard to know authenticity since AC is clearly writing notes, etc. later from Edinburgh. The material is interesting though–the darker side of things. More of the "magical" material here. One page near the end has "E.C. superstition" written in pencil in margin. Probably Ella Carmichael commenting here.

494
Bundle wrapped in brown paper with "494" on one side, and " Vol IV originals" in blue pencil, ~5 cm thick.
Some typed copies, some handwritten originals, G and E. Several notes inside: "Original MSS of Vol IV not yet combed for words vols 4 & 5" in blue pencil, and "Finished with A.M." in black ink. Charms; teat blessing; "Sian Sleibhe" with E and G changes by AC; wren; St. Kilda people's visit to Uist; stitch in one's side; milking; madness; the field mouse; cattle; St. Kilda's Boat Song, and Lament, Melodist of the Mountains; waulking (typed with corrections); typed milking croons; silverweed root; lightning of God, and Bride; pearlwort; St. John's wort; rats (tale about Jesus); beasts; bird language; oba; wart cure; thread incantation; the king's evil; falling sickness, cancer; cures; heart; evil eye (many); toothache; pap/breast swelling; colic; mote; gland; bruise; thread.
N.B. On the sheets about madness, in pencil: "192 use parts about pools others too wild" probably JCW. Cattle text with a CG reference and "(HRR)"--Hamish Robertson. So, mostly charms to ward off the above. Some with JCW's notes on them.

495
Bundle wrapped in brown paper with label. In blue pencil: "Original MSS. of vol iv Thoroughly combed for words vol.4." ~4 cm. thick.
Fragment; Hymn of the wild deer; milkmaid's blessing--Columba (IV,58); the baby boy; Black Donald and St. Patrick (III,164); Blood stopping (many); chest conflict; wasting/consumption (several); chest seizure; mote; blind seizure; stye; sprains (many); toothache; part of a proof page; mumps; originals and typed copies of "Black Cock"; Binneach Nam Beann; Taladh an tsneachd; Eonagan; "Thou Speckled Bird"; Sea Prayer of the Clan Leod.
N.B. Several sheets have "cf CG ...." in same hand as before and some with "HRR" after. H. Robertson again. From the numbering they apeared to be in reverse order so I reversed them back.

496
University of Glasgow envelope to "Mr. Matheson. Celtic", "496" in lead pencil. On the back in lead pencil: "Originals of Proverbs etc. All examined." ~3 cm. thick. Many (~50) 12 x 19cm. sheets with typed proverbs and pencil hand notes, including some marked "Rejects." Sheet with blue pencil: "Proverbs &c. with their originals. Will need checking. Proverbs given in Nicolson are omitted from the typed sheets. Riddles with their originals." Not AC's hand: Conundrums; boys crying; puzzles (16 folios); more 12 x 19cm. with big typed sheets; red-head (Highlanders believed Judas was red-head and so dislike the color....) Weather and seasons; triads; Seasons; imprecations; weather; sea; goat; the day of the half summer; more 12 x 19cm. with seasons etc.
N.B. Doesn't look like AC's work except the originals–probably A. Matheson, given

the envelope and the amount of typed material.

497
Bundle of papers without wrapping. All papers ~26 x 21, ~7 cm. thick.
Top sheet has "497" in lead pencil, and typed: "adharcag lapwing. The people believed that the eggs of the lapwing produced fertility." The next page has "NOTES" at the top and lists three vocabulary words (including above) and definitions. The entire pile appears to be Matheson's vocabulary notes in alphabetical order with very few originals of AC's. Many pages simply have one word with definition of a line or two -- probably to enable alphabetization.
N.B. Angus Matheson

498
University of Edinburgh (UOE) envelope to JCW postmarked 7 VI 39, with UOE wax seal, ~4.5cm. thick.
On envelope in blue pencil scored through: "BOX 4 Completing 137 items" Lead pencil: "Original MSS. of vol. iv [....]" Thoroughly combed for words vol. 4. 498". Inside: note in lead pencil: "IV Originals of iv Absolutely nothing else—combed thoroughly." (probably JCW.) Neat copies, and some AC MSS, with two numbers (one in blue pencil and one in lead pencil), neither correspond with the published CG page numbers. Most pieces can be found in CG Vol. IV (cf. page listing will follow the title in parenthesis when a comparable text in CG has been found.) "Coisrigeadh An Aodaich (consecrating the cloth)" (p.97); "Biadh agus Caiseart an Tuathnaich" (p.105); "Port" (p.121); churning (pp. 106-9); "Crònan Bleoghain (Milking Croon)" (p.79); "Milking Song? JCW [...] Och A Mhaol" O hornless one (p.77); "Cronan Cruidh" (p.73); "Thoir Am Bainne Bho Dhonn" (p.67); "Thoir Am Bainne M'eudail" (p.67); printer's proof corrected "Tatan Bethaich Attracting an Animal" (p.69); "Beannachadh Bleoghain Milking Blessing" (p.63); "Saodach A Chruidh" (p.41); the Sheiling (p.38) -- this is written on the back of a recital program of Marjorie Kennedy Fraser dated 1907; "Nollaig do Spreidh" (p.52); printer's proof with corrections of "Eoir a'Mhuighe Churning Charm" (p.87); Old habits (p.33); "Iasgach" (p.36); "Voice of the Swan, The Swans, The White Swan" (pp.25-9); "Gaelic call to a horse..."; "Tern"; "Roin" (p.12); "Seals" (p.13); "Bairneach" (p.10); "Calumcille Agus An Liabag" (p.10); the cock (p.6f.); "Daol" (p.3); "Dobhar-chu= waterdog" (p.2); "Thalann Thu"; "Dances" weave the gown; "Old School Game" (Rum); "The Salmon's Leap"; "Games"; birds; "An Cat" (p.1); "Children's Rune"; "Teab"; "Points of Youth"; "Buadh Nam Brogach"; "Fiacaill"; "Fuath"; "The Count of the Cobbler's tools" (p.101); "Boulders"; "Foghnadh Feamainn" (p.33-5); "Arna Moire" (p.193); "Moon"; "Beannachd Samhna"; printer's proof with corrections "Sian Chaorach Sheep Charm" (p.49); printer's proofs with corrections "Ora Feamain The Incantation of the Seaweed" (p.35); printer's proofs with corrections "An Saodachadh The Driving" (p.43); "Suil Eye" (p.169); "Tilleach Droch Sul" (p.159,153, and 151); "Buadh Mòid Triumph of Moot" (p.147); "Ora Ceartais / Moid" (p.145); "Or Anacainnt Prayer against Ill Report" (p.141); "Sobhrach Primrose" (p.125); "Seamarag" (p.139); "Am Monalan" (p.131); "Iubhar Beinne" (p.129); "Cuilc/A Chuilc The Reed" (p.127); "An or a rinn Calum Cille[...]" at foot of page: "K.M. literatum" -- Kenneth MacLeod?; "Cronachdain Suil" (p.169).
N.B. Notes on the back of a Marjory Kennedy-Fraser recital program dated 1907. So AC is writing in Edinburgh—or at least rewriting. Significant material about children's games etc. that didn't make it into the published work.

499
Bundle of papers, fairly uniform size, 27 x 21cm. ('Or Agus Ob' flyers.) ~10 cm. thick.

Mostly Gaelic and English notes by AC, original MSS of Vol. IV, on the back of Òr Agus Òb promotional flyers, some correspondence and neat copies. Including: May 1930 copy of Scottish Electrical Engineer. Letter to Ella Carmichael, 32 Polworth Gardens, Edinburgh, postmarked May 31 1903, a Beltane greeting with a piece of pressed white heather. Celtic Union announcement of Gaelic classes on Wed. evenings for ladies or gentlemen at Lothian Road Public School, cost for the session 2 shillings and sixpence, 15 Oct. 1906. Word lists, and notes. G verse: "An Samhla" The vision / an Example. Fragments of handwritten music with G lyrics. Ocean Blessing (G & E). "Urnuigh Chadail" with "omit" written. "Clerical Baptism" "Unbaptised Children". "The Infant". "Breith Agus Bas" with "all used" written at foot. "Ancestor Worship". "Clearances". "Eosaidh -- Leprosy" [17pp. of excise sheets torn in half.] "The Parting". "Voice of the Swan". "Wish of the MacLeods". "Baby Boy". "Gruagach" ('small, slender shadowy creature.') "The Eigg Fiddler". "The Goats". "Fari[es]". "The Glaistig -- similar one given". "Dog". Ghost story with "This is taken from another source already." A Fairy Song. "Season & Days". "Uraisg". "Weather -- Times, days and seasons of the year". Printed article: "The Songs of Scotland Before Burns". Letter dtd. Dec. 19, 1898 to Mr. Mackay. "Seaweed". "Harps use" [13pp.] "My Choice and My Love". Silverweed. "An dealg cures". "farchain". "Cu-cu". "Blood Letters" [people who let blood]. Seals. "Leothas" with "omit". "omit [. . .] The Airidh -- [sheiling]". Blue sheet w/ "use separately gone [over] by K.M. & E.C.C.W." "Fishing". "The Clam". 12 folios of notes on Birds -- top one dated 11 Nov. 1881, Scolpaig, N. Uist. "Allasan" goose. Many notes on fish, birds and plants. "Duan an Domhnaich" not AC's hand, then typed copy, the Sabbath Praise. Private letter dtd. 6 Nov. 1901. "An t-Aonadh Gaidhealach Rev. Neil Ross 1906". Two printed copies of "Ocean Blessing". "Eolais". "An Oda " beg. "Upon the Eve of Saint Michael all the horses in Uist became restive...." [7 folios]. A Bed Blessing with "Omit [. . .] most of this is found in similar poems in vol. I." Contract between W.J.Watson and Agnes Helen Anderson or Buchanan to rent a house, 1907. No title, beg. "This apparition of the bird of death is very unclassical." More notes on words. "Variants" [9 folios]. "Cailin Og A Stiura Mi" with "Omit see Trans. XV Òranaiche". "Bhean Shith" dtd. 1900. Several tales, etc. with "omit" in pencil-- one "omit JCW". "Laoidh Dhughail Thaillear" [13 folios]. "Achan Oidhche" from Uist. "A Bhiast" with "use [. . .] I have not used this jcw Jan 40". "Vision" dtd. 1909. "Taibhse". "Taibhsearachd". Letter about birds from Finlayson, Mingulay, Barra, dtd, May 14, 1881. "An Capullan Glan Gorm" [3 folios] with "corrupt and difficult" in pencil.
N.B. Ella's initials show she did have a hand in editing too. JCW initialled some of his "omit" instructions and commented.

500
Brown box with label, in blue pencil: "Originals of Words (all copied for vol. V 500." Elsewhere in blue pencil scored through: "vol. IV", 30 x 20.5cm., 13cm. thick.
Card at the top of pile, typed: "Originals of 'Words'. All that I think valuable have been copied and will be found in one or other of the other two bundles. JCW." Some are stories etc. in AC's hand from which words are taken, others specific vocabulary notes. Some written on the back of "Òr agus Òb" ads, a letter from "Punch" magazine to AC at 32 Polworth Gdns 10/08. Top of pile, words beginning with S (many); R; P & R mixed; O; M;L; I; J; G; F; E; D; C (many); B (many); A. [See 503B for "T, and U"]
N.B. CG was going to be called "Òr agus Òb" with subscription advertisements in Oct. 1897 Caledonian Medical Journal for £3, 3s.

501
Bundle wrapped in brown paper with "501". Slip of white paper with, in blue pencil:

"Original MSS of vol. iii vol. 3.", largest folio: ~35 x 22cm., ~8cm. thick.
Note on top in blue pencil: "Originals of iii The ff. are missing from this bundle:-- pp. 116-117 (doesn't matter) 152-153 164-169 344-345 366-367 They are all still extant--must be in some other bundle. 24 iii 1941". Combination of manuscripts (AC), neater hand copies (some typed), and printer's proofs with JCW's corrections on them. All seem to be numbered in blue pencil. Not many printer's proofs have the corresponding manuscript with it—it's more an either/or situation. It seemed that there were a few more missing than listed above, but I might have missed them. I put them in correct order (2 to 395 with some missing) and instead of re-wrapping them, I bound with new ribbon and stacked so the edges wouldn't bend so much.
N.B. Why would JCW be so meticulous about marking this bundle, and in fact the whole collection so well if he "had something to hide." It is true that there is not as much AC material as exists for vol. 4, 5, and 6, but that does not mean that there is a conspiracy to hide anything. Perhaps it's because AM needed it to finish 5 & 6, and rather than risk repetition, the other manuscripts were discarded, if they were not used.

502 A-C
Two envelopes and one bundle. See individual entries for A, B, and C.
A note loose in the box (not attatched to A, B, or C) in blue pencil: "I have copied not from these, but from the originals. I have hesitated to destroy these yet, but they are probably valueless nevertheless. JCW.
N.B. JCW's care at saving whatever he could.

502A
Oliver & Boyd envelope to JCW with blue pencil: "502a", ~1.5 cm. thick. On the back of the envelope in lead pencil: "VOL. IV W.J.W.'s copies (from his 2 notebooks)" in blue pencil: "Probably valueless".
Neat copies in all the same hand in black ink of G and E. In top right corner there is in pencil the CG reference, if one (some are marked as omitted from the CG) and looks like HRR's hand. Although not the complete Vol. IV, the references are all from IV, and in page order.
N.B. JCW was right in that these are pretty valueless because they are just copies that were not even used in the editing procedure. No notes on them except HRR's (?).

502B
UOE envelope to JCW, blue pencil: "502B". Written on back, and typed label—see below, ~3.5cm. thick In black ink, handwritten (JCW?): "Rejected MSS from vol. IV Might contain some words, proverbs &c. for V".
Typed label: "Material judged unfit for publication. Some of it typed (accompanied by MS) , and some only in MS. Some of the poems are not good enough for publishing, others are rejected because they are not authentic, but touched up or largely composed by Kenneth MacLeod, such as Aoigheachd, Achan Màthar, etc. [¶] There may be some valuable 'Words' here, and the bundle shd be looked through before vol. V is given to the printer."
In lead pencil: "Finished with A.M." and in blue pencil: vol. 5. The label is accurate. Some typed sheets have "X Word" in the margin to mark a word to list in "words". Two small pages near bottom of pile--both numbered "3" in top right corner. In AC's hand but no date or signature. "William Mackay, farmer, Kiltarlity could stop and often did stop bleeding in horse and in cattle and in human beings. He was famous for this throughout the district. He died beloved and respected [scored through: "just a year before I was there"] shortly before my visit. A Macdonald in the place is said to have obtained the power from him, but I [scored through: 'did not'] failed to see him. ------ This belief is common among a people as well read and intelligent as any of there clas

[sic.] [scored through:'in'] within or without the British Isles." Next page: "I neither believe nor disbelieve these beliefs for I do not understand them [scored'and may never understand them.] Enough for me to have rescued them from inevitable disappearance/effacements and to have left them for the examination of the learned." N.B. Material omitted from the published volumes. Honest description of why. AC's participation in the beliefs which he collected.

502C
Bundle wrapped in brown paper, blue pencil: "502C", ~6cm. thick.
On label on the inside of wrapping in blue pencil: "Typescripts of vol. iv; [scored through: 'also first proof of some matte for'] vol. v and typescript thereof. Vols. 4, 5". It is indeed the typescript for Vol. IV though not in order--even has point size for printing written in margin. Cannot find a text in published CG for "Sgoich, Sgothaich" (guts of animal--first animal food a boy eats and first word he is taught to say) or the section "Cleasan" (Games) MS pages 14-24. "Live Creatures" is the first section in the published Vol IV. Printer's proof where "Sgoich..." headline is changed to "Leanabas" (childhood).
HRR has given comparable text (cf.) in CG for many of them, and discovered several which were omitted from printed version: MSS p. 86f on fishing; MSS 246-7 on imprecation and evil eye; etc. The texts are in almost perfect published order after the first few unpublished ones.
N.B. It appears that there was to have been a "Childhood" or "Games" section, from which only the "Baby Boy" survived in the "Miscellaneous" section (CG IV 328f.) and the "Losing tooth" is under "Mouse" (IV 18).

503A
UOE envelope to Prof. JCW. On back in black ink: "Original Manuscripts of material for Carmina Gadelica Vol. V (finished with A.M.)", ~4cm thick.
Almost all look like original AC notes, mostly Gaelic. One called "The Goimhseagan" or Silly Women, has in pencil scored out: "Too funny for the tone of the book!". Wails; laments; soul without body; ghosts; little sister of love; witchcraft; some on the back of Excise Sampling Request forms with pencil notes at top (Angus Matheson?) "nothing here" or "used"; supernatural being; nialadairachd / astrology; frith (some handwritten, some typed); the auspicious day of the week or year (several); luckdays; omens and signs; crow; Lindsay (maid who washes the shroud); fuath / ogre / spectre; water demon; goblin; wild wandering calf; water deities; supernatural beings; fairies; female spectre / foolish woman; grey paw / spog liath; siren / glùmag; spirit who foretells death of those who would die in battle / caoineag; serpents; unkept woman / spectre / spruilleag; house gods; lake deity / cuachag; water bull; water horse; female deity who protected cattle / Gruagach; piper Macintyre.
N.B. Lists with numbers, names, profession, town, and island scratched out and used to write a tale on. Perhaps a good deal of this material was not published because the content appeared too "superstitious".

503B
UOE envelope to JCW, ~3.5 cm thick.
On postmark (5 VI 39) in lead pencil: "Finished with A.M." On label in blue pencil: "Original MSS of "Words" for vol. V. May not all have been copied vol. 5". Sheet inside, typed: "Original MSS of "Words". Have probably all been copied and if so will be found in one or other of the two bundles; but I am not quite sure that they have all been copied." More notes in AC's hand--lists may be another hand? Ghost; alphabetical lists [similar to the one in 504B] of: fairy lore; natural history; historical tales; rhymes; miscellaneous words; notes on words / vocabulary beginning with "U"; "T"; neat

(copied?) lists of words and definitions not in perfect order, but generally A-U.

503C
Bundle wrapped in plain brown paper with "503C" written in blue pencil on it, ~6cm thick.
Letter to JCW from Oliver and Boyd dated 15 Aug. 1941, re: volume IV publication. Letter mentions "rough proofs" which it says are enclosed but they are not included in the bundle. AC original MSS, some with typed copies attached: lament / bron binn with note cf Leabhar na Feinne p. 208; rejected from Vol IV--waulking song (typed): "Is mis thug an ceannach..." probably because another version in TGSI xv, 144f. Notes on childbirth; Mackintosh's lament / Cumha Mhic an Toìsich; I am tired; Black Dog...; "Taladh Dhomhnaill Ghuirm"; Beautiful Margaret; leaps; dances; the cat; shellfish; the people of the incantations; exorcism of the Storm; wells / Tobair. An envelope with typed copies (only one with original attached). On envelope in lead pencil: "These probably not to be printed, mostly because other versions printed already."
N.B. Notes at top of some of the MSS: "secular"; "omit ?"; "(see Scottish Celtic Rev.)"; "of doubtful authenticity & even if genuine, poor"; "These are valueless JCW Nov. 1940"; "doubtful?"; "Poem rather difficult and not specially fine"; "compare"; see last line above. So, JCW was quite explicit whan he encountered inferior texts. It appears he was not "hiding" these texts from future scrutiny.

504A
Envelope, in blue pencil: "504A"; in lead pencil: "Original MSS. of material for Carmina Gadelica Vol. V. (finished with A.M.", ~1cm. thick.
Notes / tales etc., mostly in AC's hand: Cows; "tithe of the devil" (bit of dough burned as ...); Raasay witches as cats; astronomy in Gaelic Songs; Human sacrifice; living burial ("see vol. ii, 340") --but there is no 340 (prayer number or page number) in printed vol. ii...; death and Highland cattle.

504B
Envelope from Oliver & Boyd to JCW. In lead pencil: "Carmina Gadelica Vol. V. Original Mss. (Finished with A.M.)", ~5mm. thick.
List on the same kind of paper and writing as 503B "Words and their meaning." (~35 folios) List of fishes (2 folios) Some more vocabulary lists in a different hand (Angus Matheson?). "The Names of Cows and Bulls [of?] Vàllay North Uist ." Meanings of Corr/corra.

504C
Envelope, in black ink: "Carmina Gadelica Vol V. Original Mss. (Finished with A.M.)" Scored through: "For 3rd vol. Tapagan Conundrums Proverbs", ~2.5 cm.thick.
Original AC notes / tales etc. (a few in a different hand, one typed.) Witches as cats; water she-devil / Glaistig (several); death of mother of Mac Iain Ghior; hair and finger nails; meteor / dreag; augury (using sheep's shoulder) / slinninneachd?; sea; dark complexioned man = good omen; other omens, i.e. on the carrying of humans in air by fairies; [Uses the back of sheets with "On Her Majesty's Service The Supervisor of the Inland Revenue" and "Officer's weekly statement of Duties paid and Outstanding"] Reversing the wind [at top in pencil: "perhaps useful for trans'n--not otherwise"]; crithionn chrann / the aspen tree; wild fig / fitheagach; Macmhuirich Mor; beast / A bheist; dead mother nursing her children; Iain A Chlaidh; goblin / bocan; sprite / fride; gnomes/sprites / fridich; birth mark; witches from Lorn, Lochaber, Mull, Tiree, and Skye; salt; altar; tree in Uist; fragment about a brooch in AC's family; heredity; evil eye; "All tales finish with this...."; one piece dated 6 July 1869 with pencil note at top: "To be checked by K.M." (Kenneth MacLeod?); pleasant sleep / Gur h Eibhinn An t-Suain;

Holy family stop at croft; figwort / faram; things which are false, spurious / saobh; female spectre / witch / baobh; water-carlin / cailleach uisge; "Story of Bean-Nighe (N. Uist)" / washing woman; typed "Astronomy" with 428 in margin; sea-cattle / crodh mara; water horse / each uisge, gruagach.
N.B. Good collection of tales, etc. Probably some good unpublished ones.

505
Oliver & Boyd envelope to JCW. In blue pencil: "Vol. 1". In lead pencil: "Some of these proofs unpublished?", ~3mm thick About 12 typed sheets with G and E prayers. At top of first sheet in pencil: "(All in Vol. I – HRR, 1972)".

506.1-2
Stack of 10 x 16cm. papers (divided in two to fit in box), ~11 cm. thick. Vocabulary sheets, hand in pencil, one word and definition per page, A to U. Probably Angus Matheson's, perhaps JCW.

507 (shelved in PC71)
Was a scroll, has been flattened at my request in October 1992, and put in a large (53 x 39cm.) folder, 27.5 folios, contents sheet, labels sheet.
Corrected printer's proofs in very fragile condition. Label from James Thin to "Professor W. J. Watson, 17, Merchiston Avenue."; dated 1934. Typed label with "507" in blue pencil: "Old Proofs (dating from 1899-1900). All they contain has been printed in vols. iii & iv."
Typed page beginning: "These proofs contain [...]" and listing 48 titles in Gaelic. The proofs themselves have corrections that appear to be in AC's hand, and some that could be later ones by JCW? Pages numbered 1 to 56.
N.B. Very significant if indeed these are proofs seen by AC (and JCW?) All are published but they could shed light on editing of AC (versus JCW?)--though fairly late in the editing process.... The MSS. should be preserved / patched up, so they don't disintegrate.

508
No item ever seen, or found with this number. To my knowledge, this is the only item number with no corresponding item.

509 (shelved in PC 71)
Large envelope: "Carmichael-Watson Collection Photocopies of Gaelic MSS 509 Also a photocopy of a catalogue of the MacLagan MSS"
Bundle of 37 folios, 25 x 19.5cm., photostat. "A Catalogue of the MacLagan MSS." Goes on to catalogue 26 items.
11 folios, 29 x 21cm., photostat from British Museum, marked P23003, Egerton 158 and 112; P29790 Eg. 209. Gaelic MSS.
8 folios, 35.5 x 23cm., photostat. Gaelic MSS, but no photo marking.

510
Large blue box with label, in black ink: "Carmichael-Watson 510 A. Mac Bain (1)". Inside lid: "Alex. MacBain (1) Correspondence arranged chronologically by year." Letters, bills, etc. to Alexander Macbain in bundles sorted by year, total thickness ~22cm, one bundle of undated correspondence. Many bills (Rainings School) in '89-93 bundle. A letters from: A.C., Donald MacKinnon, Whitley Stokes; '84-88: John Towse (SPCK);'82-83; '95-03; '79-81; '04/-07; Envelopes labelled: "Aberdeen University olde printed items"; "Letters not to A. MacBain 1902 - 1909" [containing 3 letters to George Henderson, 4 to Miss Carmichael (Ella probably), 9 page draft of letter/petition

requesting AC be able to retire on full salary to pursue his research]; "A. MacBain Class certificates, Aberdeen University, 1877-79. Testimonials, 1876-1880. etc."
Letter from AC: "29 Raiburn Place, Edinburgh, 25th Sep. 89. Dear Sir, I am just home from the West and among a host of letters I find one from you. I said to you that when the magazine became your own I would give you a contribution out of personal regard for [yourself?]; and I will. I have finished or nearly finished the translations of the old hymns collected in the Outer Hebrides. But before sending them to press I am anxious to collate them with the numerous of the old people and to try and get if but an additional verse, line, or even word or variation. For this purpose I must go among the few the very few remaining dear old people of the kind hearts the wonderful memories and the courteous manners. I have no objection whatever to your giving any poems I sent to the late Dr. Cameron. I think I have two or three versions of Clann Uisne I do not remember what version I sent him. If you will allow me to see I will send you back the MS. I have to write "notes" on the Place-names in this poem for the Gaelic Society. Yours very truly, Alxr. Carmichael"
N.B. AC's letter to Macbain. Letter requesting AC be able to retire on full salary.

511A (shelved in PC71)
Scrolled 3 folios, 55.5 x 39cm. Now flattened in folder.
Aparently there were at one time at least 4 sheets. The three in this item are labelled 1, 3 and 4. Artwork, mostly zoomorphic "celtic" designs with page numbers by each figure, in pencil, with instructions for printer.
This is probably the artwork referred to on the back dust cover of Volume V of Carmina Gadelica:
"The many ornamental initial letters, headpeices and tailpieces are the beautiful work and generous gift of Mr. Robert Burns."
N.B. Artwork.

511B
Papers, 23 x 18cm., 13 folios clipped together
Hand written in ink: "Mythology, Illustrated by Celtic Examples [...] Delivered before Celtic Society. Abdn, 6th December 1878."

511C
Papers sewn together, 26.75 x 21.5cm., 24 folios.
Typed, except for cover sheet. "Sutherland Place Names"

511D
Brown bound notebook, 25 x 20.5cm., 1cm. thick. Notebook with handwritten notes (probably Macbain) and clippings, and perhaps printers proofs. Re birth, death, growth.
N.B. Good section on superstition--is this the printer's proof from Macbain's Celtic Mythology?

511E
Red notebook with loose leaves inside, ~5mm. thick.
"Place Names of Inverness-shire"

511F
Notebook with "Sketches " printed on the front, 24 x 14cm., ~75mm. thick.
Drawings in pencil of stones (stone circles?); notes on Clan names, i.e., MacKenzie, Carmichael, etc.

511G

Green notebook, falling apart, 23 x 18.5cm., 5mm. thick.
Notes, beginning "Mackay Origins...."

511H
Black notebook with red spine, 24 x 19.5cm., ~1.2cm. thick.
Notebook (student?) of lists of Gaelic vocabulary.

511I
Black notebook, 22.5 x 18cm., ~1cm. thick.
Notebook (probably student) with handwritten copy of "Adamnan's Vision" from a manuscript in the Royal Irish Academy.

511J
Blue writing tablet, 26 x 20cm., ~5mm. thick.
Notes and a paper, "The Celt in Virgil" probably Macbain's.

511K
Papers sewn together, 23.5 x 19cm., ~3mm. thick.
"Mss: left [by] the late Hector Maclean."

511L
Papers sewn together, 20.5 x 16.5cm., ~5mm. thick.
"Cameron's Philologic Remains -- Vol. II -- Papers on Gaelic Philology by Rev. Alex. Cameron, LL.D."

511M
Stack of papers, assorted sizes (largest: 36 x 21cm.), ~1.5cm. thick.
Assorted notes, correspondence, and essays by different authors, some typed, Gaelic related, i.e. St. Kilda Place Names, "The Progress and the Present Stage of the Gaelic Movement by J.D. MacDonald". Perhaps these were for the Celtic Review as one letter suggests.

511N
Register, 20.5 x 33cm., ~5mm. thick.
Class register: "Science and Art Department of the Committee of Council on Education General Register of the Science Class, Raining's School, Barn Hill, Inverness, Invernessshire." circa 1882-86.
N.B. Macbain

512 (a prev. 488)
Envelope, ~37 x 26cm., ~1.5cm. thick.
Very large "Queen's Stores...A Demand for...Stores to complete Her Majesty's Ship... for ... Service...." Circa 1850's. This sheet is wrapped around misc. papers (see below.) On this sheet, #'s 488, and 494 are scratched out and 488 written again. When I renumbered the double numbered items, I renumbered this one 512. In pencil, below the scored through numbers: "To be dealt with 19.2.59" and that is scored through as well. See NB below.
Miscellaneous notes etc. on oversize paper, (G and E) in AC's hand (a few in another's), including ones about: Alexander MacDonald; saviour and 9 grains of wheat; St. Michael; list of parting hymns; stone axe; black-mouthed hound of March; dew drop of the Father; printed article about the Gaelic Scriptures by Alexander Cameron; article from Scotsman, April 6, 1942 re: JCW's disappearance; Oban Telegraph, Jan. 3, 1889; neat copies of Gaelic verse (not AC's hand); booklet "Pet Jessie-Anne's Exhibition of Unda's

Rubbings from Monumental Slabs and Brasses."; 4 folios with tale mostly in E, with overwriting in AC's hand "signed" "A.C."; "coral" dated 29 July 1876 (this and another are written on large excise forms: "Spirits. Abstract of Warrants for Operations and Removals."); "Boulders in North Uist"; hymn; "Clara of the Golden Hair Who went wild with the Deer"; "Sorcha An Orfhuilt"; drafts of letters about factors, and crofters
N.B. This sheet shows the confusion about the numbering took place at least in 1959, if not before and after. Perhaps, as I thought, new items came into the collection, or the librarians took stock...? This is AC material, in a box with a lot of non-AC material.

513 (prev. 488)
Black binder, 34.5 x 23cm., ~1cm. thick.
Library label on inside: "Collection of Kintail Songs made by Alexander Matheson, Dornie".

514A (prev. 489)
Notebook, 23 x 18cm., ~25mm. thick.
Very few notes, seems to be on Gaelic words.
N.B. 514A-G could all be Macbain material?

514B (prev. 489)
Black notebook, 16 x 10cm., 5mm thick.
Probably Macbain's notebook on: "Loan words from Gaelic Notes from Jameson's Scottish Dictionary Gregor's Dialect of Banffshire (Phil Trans. 1866)."

514C (prev. 489)
Blue notebook, 18.5 x 11cm., ~1cm. thick.
"vol iii Derbyshire, Wilts, Berks." Sketches of pottery.

514D (prev. 489)
Papers sewn together, 20.5 x 16cm., 2mm. thick.
"Miscellaneous Notes Celtic." Grammar notes, vowels

514E (prev. 489)
Bundle of papers, 22.5 x 14cm., 5mm. thick.
Alphabetized notes on Saints. 514 E, F, and G written on the back of "Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge Examination for School Bursaries..." Assorted years (1885-87) and subjects (Geography, Geometry, History, English, Gaelic....)
N.B. SPCK exams.

514F (prev. 489)
Bundle of papers, 22.5 x 14cm., 2.5cm. thick.
Notes on place names, etc. alphabetized.

514G (prev. 489)
Bundle of papers, 22.5 x 14cm., 1.5cm. thick.
Notes on miscellaneous topics, not arranged.

515A-N (prev. 490a-n)
Envelope, 23 x 17.5cm., 2mm. thick.
In pencil on envelope: "List of Gaelic Books sent by John Smith of Campbeltown to W. McCallum." Contains items marked A-N, mostly correspondence to Prof. Mackinnon.
N.B. MacKinnon

516 (prev. 491)
Brown leather notebook, 22 x 18cm., ~1.5cm. thick.
Very neat copies of articles, poems (G and E) etc. Appears to be for study.

517 (prev. 492)
Papers sewn together, 33 x 20.5cm., ~1cm. thick.
Handwritten, alphabetized "Catalogue of The Celtic Library formed by the late Donald MacKinnon, Professor of Celtic Languages and Literature in the University of Edinburgh"
N.B. MacKinnon

518 (prev. 493)
Notebook, 32 x 20.5cm., 1.5cm. thick.
Only one quarter of the notebook has writing in it. Index in front. 15 items copied, dated 1801-1861; hymns and psalms (G and E).
N.B. This does not appear to be AC material. MacKinnon?

519 (a prev. 494)
Bundle of papers, largest folio: 38.5 x 24cm., ~3cm. thick.
Not AC: "Remarks on the philological portion of Profr. Blackie's work on the Language and Literature of the Highlands of Scotland." (one page). Gaelic fragment--grammar exercise? G verse, 3pp. AC: 4 small pages of G notes; Printer's proof of "Oran a Mhifhortuin." Not AC (student??) Handwritten essay, 11 pp.: "The ancient Irish Legends and the Ossianic poems." 1p. fragment of corrected essay in E Small note: "W.J.Watson University Lectures, Notes etc." 3pp. of #'s (570-736) followed by short citation— footnotes? 30 small folios of notes, probably AC, on the woodcock and other birds. 2 handwritten copies of music score: "'Anthem' Words translated from Gaelic by Alexander Carmichael (Carmina Gadelica) Music composed by Vincent O'Brien Dedicated to Miss Bellingham on the occasion of her marriage to the Marquis of Bute". Small notebook: "Extracts from Rees, Lives of Welsh Saints." 3 pp. list of 60 Titles in G.: "Ossianic and Fingalian." AC notes on excise sheets. Including one beginning: "In the summer of 1870 Captain Fielden of the Hussars made an ornithological tour through the Outer Hebrides. I had the pleasure of making his acquaintance and of his subsequent correspondence upon subjects of mutual interest."
"The Outer Hebrides"; "Lismore"; G. frаments; Highland names; G. topographical names; "Barra Cross 16, June 1880"; "St. Kilda"; "Lismore"; "Caisteal bhala[rry] visited Tuesday 14 Nov. 1871." with sketch; "Unnatural Phennomenon [sic.]"; (AC): "Outer Hebrides"; G. prose and verse: "From James Macinnon [....] 13 Dece 1871"; "Sundew 18 Nov. 1875" (plant like a venus fly trap); St. Michael; Letter with: "Sometimes the [task] to reply to questions for information is very strong and stronger still to reply to frequent cruel distortion and occasional downright untruths of the Uist people whom I love so well." G prose dated 1871; "The Ossianic Question -- The Editor of the [Neigh]-- Sir , It is much regretted the angry phase which the Ossianic question is assuming in your columns." Large amount on "The Outer Hebrides"; letter with: "The postman still goes round Benbecula still causing great [incom...] and consequent bitterness to the whole people of Barra the whole people of Sout Uist and to five eighths of the people of Benbecula itself."; "Clann Uisne"; "Dearduil".
N.B. Some AC, some WJW. Very good collection of notes from 1870's and 1880's while AC was living in the Outer Hebrides. They are probably in this bundle because they are oversized (most are on excise sheets.) Shows AC's advocacy for the Outer Hebrideans.

520 (prev. 490(?),496, & 495)

Vellum covered notebook with loose notes inside, 33 x 21cm., 2.5cm. thick.
G prose (WJW's hand?); University summer lecture on Celtic element in the Scottish lang. (WJW?); booklet: "Testimonials in favour of Donald MacKinnon, M.A."; printer's proofs of Old Irish Grammar pp. 24-41; G fragment notes; 25 folios tied with string, some in AC's hand: "The Outer Hebrides"–this is probably a neater copy or a consolidation of material in 519 bundle; "Incomplete & Incorrect Proof. [...] MACNEACAIN AN DUIN -- MACNAUGHTAN OF THE DUN [...] A POEM WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY ALEXANDER CARMICHAEL." (pp. 489-505)
N.B. WJW?; MacKinnon; AC article and notes on "Outer Heb"

521 (prev. 491?, 496, & 497)
Folder, 35 x 24cm., ~1cm. thick.
Article on Place Names of Argyll" by H. Cameron Gillies, M.D.; tiny notebook: "Notes--biographical &c on MacRae Ms."; article: "Gaelic MSS in Scotland" dated, Dec. 1 1934, by "J.L.C."; letter to ? from Whitley Stokes suggesting a catalogue of Gaelic MSS be made--perhaps refering to the UOE library?; G letters to D. McKinnon from [J.H. Staples] dated 22 and 27 Dec, 94; carbon copy of a typed outline of a book on "Highland Evangelism in the Eighteenth Century" by Rev. Donald MacLean.; "Notes taken from an article (in Welsh) written by the D.L. Jones, Landinam, on 'the Celtic Dialects' 1896"; typed carbon of "Excerpt from letter by an old Student of Professor Mackinnon's. 10th January 1938."; printed article on "Ewan MacLachlan"; letter to MacKinnon; printed material by MacKinnon; letter from MacKinnon to John MacLean, D.D.; list of birds with E, G, and literal translation; 3 G songs, one dated 1863 (not AC).
N.B. MacKinnon

522 (prev. 497)
Bundle of papers, uniform size: 20 x 16.5cm., 1cm. thick. See below for small sheet on top.
Note on top: (in pencil) "C.-W. Collection To be numbered 497 - 500. after checking with catalogue"; (in blue ink) "Refers to mss. marked 440, 441, 442, 443 (now 497, 498, 499, 500?); (my note in pencil) "Sept. 1992 -- New numbering: 497 —> 522; 498 —> 523; 499 —> 524. L.S. Sugg."
Papers: Vocabulary notes in alphabetical order. (William J. Watson?)
N.B. The small sheet shows more confusion over the numbering.... WJW?

523 (prev. 498?, 441)
Papers stapled into book, 22.5 x 14cm, 3mm. thick. "1912 Notes on Lectures I. Linguistic II. Liter. middle Per."
N.B. WJW? or Mackinnon?

524 (prev. 499?,& 442)
Blue papers studded together, 33 x 20.5cm., 2mm. thick
AC's hand, G verse: "Laoidh Chlann Uisne".
N.B. AC

525A-FF (prev. 500)
Papers in bundles, uniform size: 33 x 20.5cm.; all of the bundles together are 11cm. thick
Neat notes many in G some in E, all on Celtic related topics, i.e. Gaelic literature, Celtic Scotland, etc. Could be essays or lecture notes from William J. Watson.
N.B. WJW?

526A.1 -.12 (prev. 501)

Miscellaneous papers and two periodicals, (largest: 35 x 23cm.,) ~4.5cm. thick.
14 folios typed: "The Mac Donald Poets." A note says it was published in TGSI. Small card with information re Victoria and Albert in G, by Prof. Mackinnon. German booklist (printed) listing Mackinnon's descriptive catalogue of Gaelic MSS. March and September, 1900 editions of "The Bookman An Illustrated Monthly for Bookreaders, Bookbuyers, and Booksellers." I could not find a listing of CG in them. 15 typed folios with "Extracts from Sir William Mackinnon's letters to John Kennedy, Catical, in reference to Dr. Cameron's Library." (1889). A long catalogue of said books. 26 typed folios with copies of letters from 1896-97 regarding the books donated by Sir William Mackinnon. 526A.9-11: Three unbound notebooks listing "Gaelic Books." One of them is clearly a list of books in Cameron collection, the other two are not clearly marked. 526A.12: envelope of MSS, four groups of G MSS some with bad water(?) damage, and a catalogue of Cameron collection, an old label: "M.S.S. evidently part of Catalogue of Cameron Collection."
N.B. Mackinnon, very damaged Gaelic MSS

526A.13 (prev. 501)
27 photographs, 31 x 24.5cm.
27 mounted photographs. None identified, mostly of classes (male and female) many with Alexander Macbain in the group. Many are from Glasgow photographers, and another is from Inverness photographer, with Macbain. Three photos together in paper) 1) James Carmichael Watson; 2) a mature Ella with James Carmichael Watson as a child, Alexander (AC's son) and Mary Frances Carmichael (AC's wife); 3) William J. Watson lying on a hill.
N.B. Photographs

526B (shelved in PC71; prev. 501)
Envelope, ~35 x 29cm.
One photograph of Father Allan McDonald by the shore. Mounted 27.5 x 35.

527 (prev. 502)
Bundle of papers, assorted sizes, bundle ~23 x 18cm., 6cm. thick.
Correspondence to AC, including: correspondence re: Marshal Macdonald genealogical information dated 1891-2, to AC at 29 Raeburn Pl. Edin; notes on the "Prophecy of Coinneach Odhar"; Petition for removal of AC from Airds Bay Cottage, Taynuilt, served Oct. 31, 1900; notes and correspondence re: Prince Charles Stool (now in Fort William Museum), and Caora bheannach (many horned sheep); correspondence ca. 1896, 1883, ..; letters from Hector MacLean to AC dated 1887-8; Letter from Inland Revenue dated Dec 1897 recognizing AC's career; letter re eviction--bad feelings both ways; several letters concerning the Napier Crofting Commission, dated 1883; three unsigned letters from 144 Cowley Road, Oxford with advice about publishing CG (titles, paper, etc.), almost certainly from George Henderson.
N.B. Important collection of correspondence. AC's notice of removal—seems like eviction. Dec. 15 1900 letter from Oban re Airds Bay Cottage...; some letters concerning the Napier Crofting Commission; letters from Oxford (probably from George Henderson) re title, etc.

528A (prev. 503)
White paper covering assorted papers, "Henderson (George)" in pencil on front., 26 x 30.5cm., ~ 1.5 cm. thick.
Correspondence from George Henderson dated 1892-1900. Very long letter dated 12 III 1896 with answers to AC's questions from CG., GH suggested title "Lyra Gadelica", then in letter dated 18 March 1900, feels "Carmina Gadelica" is best for the title. Some

from Austria, Oxford, Eriskay, Edinburgh.
N.B. Important correspondence. George Henderson to AC, advice re CG title.

528B (prev. 503)
Bundle of papers and envelopes, ~26 x 15cm., 8cm. thick.
Correspondence to AC dated: 1898-1901. Including letters from: I. Murdoch, Prof. Mackinnon (Jan.1900--says can't advise AC on title for CG, another discussed the meaning of "òr," another declines to write a piece for a book catalog listing of CG), Iain Campbell (1900--praises "proofs" of CG AC sent him.), William Jolly, John Athel Lovegrove. List of 31 "Friends to whom copies of Carmina have been given." in AC's hand. Draft and copies of speech at "Uist and Barra Gathering, Glasgow Dec. 1892" in AC's hand. Letters to G.Henderson 1889 which he forwards to AC re publishing CG; Clarendon Press; long letters from AC's son, Eoghan Carmichael from British Central Africa, Mar.1895; D. Macdonald dtd. 1894 & 97 from Baleloch, Lochmaddy; Alexander Matheson; letter and printer's proofs of 2 poems by Capt. H. Anderson, dated March 1901; John Johnston of Coll, dated September 1896; Aeneas Killearnan; AC notes on Highland dyes; Alice Sargant.
N.B. Letters from Mackinnon. List of friends AC gave CG to in AC's hand. Eoghan Carmichael (AC's son) in British Central Africa.

528C (prev. 503)
Bundle of envelopes and papers, ~14 x 26.5cm., 2.5cm. thick.
Correspondence dated 1884-1901.
Letter from Eoghan to AC dated 1893 from British Central Africa, beginning: "My Dear Papa,"; "Òr agus Òb" flyers; from [J. Nuitt.Dixon?] dated. 1891 re Clarendon Press, Oxford, making an offer on CG. Letters from Clarendon Press dated 1890-1, and 1898 (Henry Frowde discussing prices and AC's royalties, etc) re CG; W.B. Blaikie ('99); several from Napier [?].
N.B. Clarendon Press re CG.

528D (prev. 503)
Wooden box with "AAC" in inlay on it; an armoured arm holding a [broken?] spear, with inscription "DAONNAN DEAS." Inlay leaves on other side. 9.5 x 6 x .75cm.
Inscription translates as "Always ready."
Definitely AC's box. I am not sure what it was used for, perhaps matches? Ronald Black suggests it may have been for snuff.
N.B. AC's wooden box.

529 (prev. 504)
Bound book with leather spine, 33 x 22.5cm., 3.5cm. thick.
Hand printed on spine: "Library"; contents all in hand: "Catalogue of the Books of W.J. Watson Esq. Ma. LL.D. F.S.A.(Scot)."
N.B. WJW

530 (prev. 505)
Dark blue UOE notebook, 21 x 17cm., 2cm. thick. Hand notes, title given whole book: "NOTES ON CHAUCER, SHAKESPEARE etc. Hector M. Maciver"; inside date 1931.

531 (prev. 494, and 506)
Green printed book, 22.5 x 15cm., 4.5cm. thick.
The Fairy-Faith in Celtic Countries, W.Y.Evans Wentz. Henry Frowde, Oxford

University Press, London, New York, Toronto and Melbourne, 1911. 523 pages.
Inscription in front: "Oxford, Nov. 21, 1911. My dear Dr. Carmichael:-- It is with a deep sense of gratitude for all the help you have so generously given me in the preparation of The Fairy-Faith that I transmit to you this copy of it. I have tried to be a faithful scribe and an advocate for the Celtic people in sending forth to the world in this book their supreme thoughts about the great problems confronting humanity—the problems of birth, life, and death. And it is my earnest hope that they will think I have not been, in so doing, unfaithful to the trust they have [rested?] in me. Respectfully & sincerely yours, W.Y.Evans Wentz. Dr. Alexander Carmichael, 35 Barnton Terrace, Edinburgh."
N.B. Inscription to AC from W.Y. Evans-Wentz.

532 (prev. 507)
Green printed book, 26 x 21cm., 6.5cm. thick.
Place Names of Ross and Cromarty, W.J. Watson, Inverness, the Northern Counties Printing and Publishing Company, Limited; Edinburgh: Norman MacLeod, 25 George IV Bridge. London: David Nutt, 57-59 Longacre. 1904.
300 pages.
N.B. WJW

533 (shelved in PC71)
Envelope, 30 x 41cm. Certificates etc. of Ian M. Carmichael (AC's son): Heriot Watt College 1893-94; St. Andrew's Ambulance Association, 1892; letter of reference from "Romanes & Munro, C.A., 1893; Edinburgh Academy, 1891-92; school Geography drawings of Scotland; Royal Bank of Scotland application with date of birth as 16 Dec. 1875 in Benbecula, S. Uist; Lower Grade Leaving Certificates in Latin, English, and Arithmetic, 1892 from Edinburgh Academy.
N.B. School certificates, etc. of Ian Carmichael (AC's son)

534
Loose papers in assorted sizes, ~26 x 20cm., 5cm. thick.
Notes, tales, songs, articles, etc. primarily in Gaelic. Many appear to be in Prof. Donald Mackinnon's hand, there are letters / notes addressed to Mackinnon.
N.B. This box previously had no number, and was shelved with all the newspaper clippings. it may have been meant for the Mackinnon collection but got misplaced.

535
Printed book with leather spine, 33 x 25cm., 4cm. thick.
First Book of Niel Gow's Reels, 2d. Edition with Considerable Additions and Valuable alterations Dedicated to Her Grace the Dutchess of Athole. Edinburgh: Gow & Shepherd for Niel Gow & Sons; 1801; 355 pages. Music with no lyrics, titles very Scots oriented. Name written in front: "M.F. Carmichael." Front cover separate, no back cover. Hand written index. Book plate: "Sir Alex'r. Jardine of Applegarth Bar'[t]."
N.B. Mary Frances Carmichael's (AC's wife) book of Neil Gow's Reels.

536
Printed book with leather spine, 33 x 25cm., 2cm. thick.
Part Second of the Complete Repository of Original Scots Tunes, Strathspeys Jigs and Dances, [Humbly Dedicated to Her Grace the Dutchess of Buccleuch] by Niel Gow & Son's; Edinburgh: Gow & Shepherd for Niel Gow & Sons; No year listed. Front and back covers separate. Name written in front "M.F. Carmichael."
N.B. Mary Frances Carmichael's (AC's wife) book of Scots tunes, etc. by Neil Gow.

537
5 folders, totalling ~32 x 24cm., 5cm. thick.
Folders with newspaper articles pasted on the pages. All articles of Gaelic / Celtic related interest.

538
Library box of 38 envelopes and two bundles of clippings. Assorted size envelopes, mostly 10 x 24cm. Envelopes containing newspaper clippings, with a description of the general contents on each envelope. Collected by "C.M. Robertson".

539
Library box of 29 envelopes of clippings. Assorted size envelopes, mostly 10 x 24cm. More of C.M. Robertson's envelopes of clippings with general contents on each one.

540
Brown book of clippings, 25.75 x 19cm.
Indexed newspaper clippings.

541
Expanding file, 28.5 x 16cm. News cuttings.

542
Tan cloth-cover book of clippings, 28 x 22cm.
News cuttings: "Perth, Highland, (St. AcraAnne)."

543
Blue cloth-cover book of clippings, 28 x 22cm.
Newspaper articles by Alexander Macbain.

544
Dark brown book of clippings, 23.5 x 19cm.
"Cuttings 11", news clippings, not indexed.

545
Yellow cloth-cover book of clippings, 21.5 x 13.5cm.
News clippings, "Cleasachd".

546
Yellow cloth-cover book of clippings, 21.5 x 13.5cm.
News clippings, no theme / title given.

547
Envelope.
Three small pamphlets, notes on one folio. 1) "Names for the Fingers" by William J. Watson. Reprinted from An Gaidheal April, 1930. 2) Report and Statement concerning the Crofter Population in the Island of Lewis, by Murray Bell, Esq., C.E. Stornoway, Lewis." From Appendix A (must be from the Napier Commission on Crofting 1883.) 3) Reprint from Scottish Gaelic Studies Vol. III, pages 92-95 of "The late Mrs. W. J. Watson" by the Rev. Donald Lamont.

548
Brown book of clippings, 28.5 x 23.5cm., with protruding pages.

News clippings.

549
Folder 36.5 x 25cm., 3 folios.
3 folios with envelopes pasted on them with clippings in each envelope.

550
Notebook of clippings, 33 x 13cm.
"Genealogies of the Clan Matheson of Lochalsh (newspaper cuttings) by Alexander MacBain (Carmichael Watson Collection)".

551
Red cloth-cover book of clippings, 31 x 27.5cm
News clippings.

552
Book of clippings, 25.5 x 19cm.
News cuttings: "Literary Scraps and Cuttings" on spine. Note inside giving W.J. Watson the book.

553
Grey/brown book of clippings, 28.5 x 24.5cm.
News cuttings, book largely empty.

554
Red book of clippings, 25.5 x 16cm.
News cuttings: "Cuttings, Ossian".

555
Grey-brown book of clippings, 28 x 24cm.
"Newspaper Cuttings", largely empty.

556
Red cloth-cover book of clippings, red cloth, 28 x 22cm.
News cuttings: "Gaelic Literature" indexed.

557
Yellow cloth-cover book of clippings, 28 x 22cm.
News cuttings: "Clan Names", indexed.

558
Blue cloth-cover book of clippings, 32 x 25cm.
News cuttings.

559
Green cloth-cover book of clippings, 32 x 25cm.
News cuttings: "Clann Donnachaidh".

560
Red leather-cover book of clippings, 27 x 20cm.
News cuttings: "Blotter", indexed.

561

Red cloth-cover book of clippings, 31 x 25.5cm.
News cuttings, no spine title, indexed.

562
Blue cloth-cover book of clippings, 31 x 25cm.
News cuttings: "Place Names".

563
Yellow cloth-cover book of clippings, 32 x 25cm.
News cuttings, most in Gaelic.

564
Book of clippings/notebook with leather spine, 24 x 20cm.
"Newspaper Cuttings (Place Names of Scotland) by Alex. MacBain No. 2 (Carmichael Watson Collection)". See item 550 as "No. 1".

565
Book of clippings/notebook, 20 x 16.5cm.
News cuttings pasted over handwritten notes in notebook.

566
Green cloth-cover book of clippings, 21 x 13cm.
News cuttings about ancient monuments and buildings.

567
Black notebook of clippings, 17.5 x 11.5cm.
News cuttings, C.M.Robertson's name written inside.

568
Purple leather-cover book of clippings/notebook, 20 x 16.5cm.
News cuttings pasted over handwritten notes.

569
Black leather-cover book of clippings, 23 x 18.5cm. News cuttings.

570
Book of clippings, 23.5 x 18.5cm.
News cuttings: "Manuscripts", a few articles with handwritten notes.

571
Maroon book of clippings, 21 x 13.5cm.
News cuttings, "Personal Names of the Highlands", by Alexander Macbain.

572
Light blue cloth-cover book of clippings, 28 x 22cm.
News cuttings: "Dargo".

573
Black leather-cover book of clippings, 31 x 24.5cm. News cuttings.

574
Paper folder with clippings, 29.7 x 21cm., ~1 cm. thick.
News cuttings: "Place Names Letters Oban Times", indexed.

575
Paper folder with clippings, 29.7 x 20cm., ~1 cm thick.
News cuttings: "Land of Duncan Ban".

576
Three thick folios folded in half with clippings on top folio, 28.5 x 20cm. News cuttings: "Saints & Animals", Glasgow Herald, 1 July 1905. "Saints and Flowers" Glasgow Herald, 8 october, 1904. "The Virgin in Scottish Topography" Northern Chronicle, 13 April, 1898.

Appendix 1.4

Letters from George Henderson to Alexander Carmichael

FROM CW-527
Postmarked November 10, 1896
No signature, but probably from George Henderson.

"144 Cowley Rd. Tuesday 9:30p.m." [Oxford]

"My dear Carmichael, ...The title must be short; no adjectives to be permitted (says E.) and your introduction is to abound in few adjectives (he says). You want your introduction to be a sort of ideal review of the book and then you will get a good review all round. .... Evans is of opinion that Hymn is misleading in this case and should be avoided. He suggests

Òr agus Òb
The Lays and Incantations of the Gael
collected and translated
by
Alexander Carmichael
Glasgow
Archibald Sinclair, Celtic Press
1897.

Unless essential he would not have Nan Gael after original title and he says the words themselves show the matter is old without any adjectives. ....

Now I am of the opinion that Òr agus Òb could be still further improved on by adopting the Gaelic tradition of naming books. I would say

Leabhar Nan Òr

a title that would be readily quotable for all time e.g. in Carmichael's Leabhar Nan Or. The spells you give are a unique feature and you could explain in your preface that Òr means prayer, hymn or sacred metrical entreaty, and spell charm. It is inclusive of Òb and I should say it would be a distinguished title and suitable. You will have a few pieces which won't readily admit of being put under either title e.g. Cumha &c &c. Re the English title I have my doubts about employing [only?] the word Gael on the title page. That in modern days has got associated with Clanna Nan Gael &c and other movements that it might be advisable to drop it. At least in England and elsewhere I seem to feel that Highlands and Islands of Scotland is more distinguished. The preface is the place for saying the rest. Most People, I find, seem to think that what they have to say is all of equal importance but you would don't want to do anything that would hinder your work circulating.

Leabhar Nan Òr
~~The Book of Spells~~
~~A Book of Spells folk-l~~
The Lays and Incantations
of
Celtic Scotland
orally collected and translated
by
Alexander Carmichael

a word for word translation of your Gaelic title must be renounced. Artistically it is not necessary. But I must be very hard to please."

[No signature, but it appears to be George Henderson, from handwriting, especially the way he writes "by" and "Carmichael."]

From CW-527
Post-marked November 13, 1896 from Oxford
George Henderson's hand -- no signature.

"My dear Carmichael.

I have great fear that your work must be announced in two editions. You must send the prospectus to the Nobility and speak of Library Edition which they are sure to get. But certainly for scholars you need something much cheaper as the high figure will make it a closed book to them and you need to have readers. So man Gaelic books that circulate widely do appeal. e.g. I was last night with Lindsay who is so well disposed to you. Speaking of Evans' books he said he would not have bought the Patron's Edition but would have gone to a library for it rather. Evans had a patrons' ed. a library ed. and a students' ed.

I would not refer to the reciters as cottar, crofter when speaking of them -- it being unnecessary and is sure to grate on some readers. That they belong to the humbler ranks is evident enough otherwise. Details of that nature are more for government officials that for literature. The words will require to be dealt within in a glossary quite distinct from notes. But I forgot, the notes are to be in alphabetical order. did the Professor speak to you about that matter. What did he actually say?

I feel almost inclined to advise you to withdraw your decision of putting in a Gaelic title. A title servers to identify a book and ~~πσ~~ a Highlander does not exist now who would not know it in English. What is the use of the unnecessary if it is an obstacle and I fear it would hamper the sale. Few people there are but prefer in [..?] what conveys them a definite meaning.

Reliques ~~(or Relics)~~
~~of the~~ being
Folk? Lays and Incantations
Traditional? of the
West Highlands

-- at Percy. Their form Reliques shows at once ....[?]

Carmichael's Reliques! That's the word that's quotable. You keep to the exact description of your contents ...[?]

In preface and prospectus you can refer to them as memorials and specify them.

*N.B.

Reliques
of Celtic Poetry and Folklore
being
folk lays and incantations small print
of the
West Highlands

Perhaps that is still better it avoids putting the reader of [sic. off] the track. It's an admirable title! Sure to take.

collected and trans'
by
Alexander Carmichael
Glasgow
Archibald Sinclair, Celtic Press.

Would be intelligible to all and inclusive of all the content.

Nutt is soon to issue the Rev. Rob. Kirke's Scoto-Irish charms and Spells ed. by A. Lang. 7/6. Kirke wrote an interesting booklet The Secret Commonwealth (dealing with fairies &c) and made a version of the Psalms. I wrote a note for Mr. Macleod saying your prospectus was to be soon issued 'a work of unique interest' to keep public attentions on the look out for it. So many wealthy men have got Campbell's Tales of the West Highlands. Perhaps if they read Carmichael's Lays and Incantations of the West Highlands they would say: this is a companion, we must have it. I can reduce the title to one word -- Laoidhean -- Laoidh in Macl. D is defined a verse, hymn, sacred poem, and as you reminded me so aptly, we have L. an Deirg. ~~You might give two title pages.~~

~~Lays Laoidh Agus Òr~~
~~Leabhar Nan Laoidh~~
Leabhar Nan Òr:
Lays and Incantations
of ~~the~~ the
West Highlands
collected and translated
by

How do you like that? We have not been in the way of naming books abstractly and so Leabhar is appropriate, in accordance with Gaelic tradition.

FROM CW-527
Post-marked Nov. 2[3] 1896
No signature, but GH's hand

"144 Cowley Rd. Oxford Monday 12 p.m.
Dear Carmichael,

I am sending you to-morrow your parcel after having sifted the notes &c. Some I have taken out and I have pruned a good deal, deeming severity best. ...

I wish you all success now. Òrr, Òrtha is a good comprehensive title: but it is a loan from Latin, whereas òb is native. Perhaps the most general sense of Òrr is invocation and plural is òrrthachan. Òrrtha might [pass?] as a contraction for it. Òrra also; but the quantity must be marked. The title is not easy. It would scarcely include such as the Macintosh Lament and the lyrics proper. In wishing to give a single abstract title you are departing from Gaelic practice. Think over it still a bit. I should say note sent to the British School of Archaeology, Athens would find him.----."

No signature of closing of any kind....

FROM CW-528A
No postmark or date given, but most probably December, 1896
(new year's greeting), and follows in tone the Oxford letters....

"P.S. Que sea en nova buena, Don [?] Alejandro!!! I wish you well and am glad you're going to Spain. Allan MacDonald [Father Allan?]
Eriskay

Dear Carmichael,
I must write you to get the weekly post to-morrow, secluded as I am from the neighbouring kingdom of Scotland. I came here for a retreat but I have been writing words and phrases down &c. I fear I was not sufficiently minute in looking into òra. In talking it over with Father Allan he noticed it was scarcely passable for a plural. Òrrachan is the common plural everywhere. The singular Òr' is short for Òra, ~~Ortha~~ Òrtha and it would not be advisable to give as a title a form not grammatically unobjectionable. Father Allan takes no objection to the title I formerly suggested -- Lyra Gadelica -- thinks it excellent as it includes everything is terse and quotable and in keeping with the classic nature of the contents. There are so many Latin loan words in the Gaelic language already ~~that~~ and these poems are inspired by ~~th~~ Latin Christianity that no possible objection can be taken. Be therefore wisely advised. All the rest which you mark on the title page is matter for the preface, -- one of the first remarks Father Allan make. Let your title therefore be simply

red Lyra Gadelica
by
Alexander Carmichael

say
~~Lyra Ga~~
Lyra
Gadelica

{first letters red and ornamental
and keep Gadelica underneath a line as shown.}

by
Alexander Carmichael

Glasgow
Archibald Sinclair
Celtic Press
1897

This is brief, and neat and dignified and unobjectionable; that is what Father Allan says and he adds that it suffices. Seeing it is impossible to get an equally satisfactory and unobjectionable title otherwise I humbly suggest this one. Let all else be said in preface and indicated in prospectus. I am glad Alec is getting ready for Spain and that he is getting married. Lovers would not wait for anything I had to say and seeing the marriage comes off in the middle of the vacation it was not possible for me to go but I wish them all god-speed and God's blessing. After great discussion Father Allan has suggested to translate 'puball beannach' by 'hornèd image' which in the context you have it is the most likely. I shall again explain this as it is not apparent on the face of it, at a first reading. Father Allan is well and has done splendid work and joins me in wishing you all every blessing for the new year. always yours,
George Henderson."

FROM CW-528A
Letter postmarked September 2, 1899
Addressed to Alexander Carmichael at Airds Bay Cottage

"192 Morningside Rd.
Edinburgh
1 Sept.

My dear Carmichael

I have just had a crack with Mrs. Carmichael who has written you by this post. It is likely she may stay over first week, as she has some things to look to and it would give her satisfaction to see any party who might turn up. You need not be surprised if she does not go for a week yet.

I have scarcely any news but working busy more or less. I am sorting my notes for the introduction to the Feast of Bricriu which I shall be happy to be relieved of as soon as I can swing to other work demanding immediate attention.

I printed out a reference to the mohan plant in W.G. Stewart's Superstitions and Fertive Amusements of the Highlanders which I shall put in the margin when I send out the proof. You will not be very long now ere you see your work out and you may be extremely glad. I shall give Mrs. Carmichael the proofs with her hen she goes with any marks I may make if you think them of any value. I cannot make up my mind as to a title. Ora seems too short and unimposing [?] for a title. If I saw Leabhar nan Òrtha or Òr or else Ortha Nan Gaidheal (being Oral ~~Sacred~~ Religious Lyrics (?) and ~~Leechdom~~ Leechdoms of the Gael). or Folk Hymns and Leechdoms of the Gael.

Possibly the sea or the hills may give you better suggestions. Alas that we can never again have the like of them, never I fear in the Highlands the spiritual material to produce them. But you or I need not regret too much as we shall not live for ever to miss them.

Hoping you are all well. I regret it seems impossible for me to leave town just now to see you but you will be at the mòd. always affectionately yours,

George Henderson"

FROM CW-528A
Letter from George Henderson dated 23 Dec. 1899

"Edinburgh
23 Dec. 99

My dear Carmichael

I am returning the part so the Introduction sent me; having my hands too full I have not written you for so very long and tho' I have seen several members of your family since, I have not been able to write yourself. I do so now and very merry Xmas and best wishes for 1900. You are going to inaugurate with your great work. I find the preface will be one of the best parts of the book; it is excellent. I stroked ~~both~~ some parts in red ink, some in pencil -- believing these had better be put out and could do quite well without being said, -- specially the mention of my own name which had better not be alluded to. In connection with such a work as yours I feel you should confine yourself to what is strictly unavoidable and you know the benefit is confined in the case to me, while you only get what is not always good for you -- criticism. In comparison with the contents, it is out of place to mention me. Your sketch of your experience in Lewis is splendid and will make the reader interested deeply. Put in the Gaelic. Some details are lacking but the pages are left blank for these. You have written enough by way of introduction. Its whole tone is pleasing.

In many ways you work will appear at an unfortunate moment when the whole attention of the nation almost is concentrated upon the [...] War and its sad concomitants. There has been a sad lack of foresight on the part of those in power and it has not begun today but years back. The policy that ought to be followed were we not an island people solely cannot be applied safely in foreign parts which have not passed thro' the same history. Government and party [?] is entirely unsound and if we are not too late to mend, we should pay attention to some of what Lord Kelvin said lately.

When you write to Spain please remember me very kindly to all there. I have not written for ever so long but mean to do so.

I was up at Prof. Mackinnon's last ceilidh; Mr. Maclean minister of Duirinish was there and Mr. Maciver of F.C. (Islay). Mrs. Maciver was not here as she was in London; a new [accession?] (an intelligent young lady from [Ambries?]) who seemed very enthusiastic. Guidhinn bho no h-uile an seo, do'n mhnair mhath nasal ghuairc' agaibh bhein [~~?~~] do'n taigh gu leir, [blairg?] mhath agus gach cùis bhi ~~dol~~ 'g eirigh libh mar bu mhath libh.

G.H."

[Translation of the Gaelic: "I pray from everyone here, to your good, noble, kind own wife and to the whole house, a good Christmas and that each matter may prosper with you [may things go] as you would wish..."]

FROM CW-528A
Letter addressed to AC at Airds Bay Cottage, Taynuilt
dated March 18, 1900

Edinburgh. 18 March 1900

My dear Carmichael,

I feel more and more how fitting Carmina Gadelica is. In one word, [only?] objection to it must be some would say you are not perhaps a classical scholar. Yet in giving a name to your collection you must not be in any way influenced by possibly silly sneers of afraid that any one would say to get a catch at you. Men like Fionn or Neil Macleod, good work as they may do, might possibly think it ambitious. Prof. Mackinnon too, a naturally cautious man, might also say you chose a title from a language not very familiar to you. But you know enough Latin to see the meaning of these words. The phrase would be intelligible to a school boy. An English scholar knows at once the English word charm = incantation is from the Latin carmen; Latin scholars may know that it philologically in Latin stands for canmen from same root in Gaelic can 'to say', also 'to sing'. In Latin it also means tune, song, strain; poem, poetry, verse; a response of an oracle, prophecy, predictions, a magic formula; a formula in religion or law, a formularly, since the Latin laws more anciently written in verse. Carmina Gadelica is handy for quotation and intelligible to all scholars and to the readers of your book. ~~When you use~~ It is comprehensive and inclusive of poem and incantation. I don't at all like hymns; it has other associations now. Ora would convey no sense to the English reader and a title should be intelligible. You amused one by saying every one knows th in Ortha is silent. That has truth in it and it is historically correct to have th in the spelling, for it is a word our Gaelic-speaking fore-fathers took in at an early period from the Latin orationem, accusative case of oratio prayer, whence now òraid 'speech' and also Eng. oration also a loan from Latin. If you look at the matter all round and remember that Òrtha is a Latin loan you will not stick to it too one-sidedly for I know good-judgement is a characteristic of your mind. The phrase says all you want to say and ~~pr~~ does away with the necessity of disfiguring your title-page by a long lingo. It will assure that the title page will be at once comprehensive, terse, intelligible, neat, distinguished. Your work is not meant for the uneducated or half-educated Highlanders and I would not be influenced by them but by the real merits of the case. I would baptize the work in the truth and also in a poetic light, -- one which would appeal to book lovers and scholars a t glance. You might in one or two words state in the preface that you have selected this title in preference to the others for brevity's sake, if you think any reference desirable. A great point in its behalf is that it gives one a true idea of the contents. Ruskin could also have got clumsy titles but he always chose the best and sometimes as in the case of Fors Clavigera explained it. Anybody who would take any exception to Carmina Gadelica are persons who would give you precious little help in the way of encouraging to collect it or improve it. You do not quite have my sympathy in departing from that title, not because I suggested it, but because it is best, having the [aptness?] of its excellence in itself. You could add of course something like: Reliques of Gaelic traditional Lore, or

Carmina Gadelica
Being fragments of the traditional literature
of the Gael in Albyn.
collected and (literally?) translated with
introductions and notes
by
Alexander Carmichael

A coming generation will like that title; you could be more readily referred to, it is distinguished; it is just to the contents. And if the truth and the beauty of it cannot evidence for themselves, of course I cannot.

On the other hand if you have Ortha Nan Gaidheal, you have Ortha which is quite obscure to most of your subscribers. It would not do to put ora for an English rendering in the title. If you do use it, it will not be so convenient for reference or quotation which is important. See O'grady uses Silva ~~Gald~~ Gadelica for his big collection of Romances Gaelic with Eng. translation lit. = the Gaelic Wood or Forest; = Eng. sylvan. You want a very comprehensive word indeed to include all the poems in your collection. Don't be blind to that. Many of them can't be rightly called Hymns, even in the large Greek sense.

The old woman's name was Barbara Ghriogail; she was married to one Macdonald, who was a Roman Cath, known as Huistean Mac Ill' Iosa [?]. Her name, I suppose is = Barbara daughter of Gregor.' She was a Free Church woman but had full faith in all this implies. ~~Thill~~ Chuir ...."

[Two pages of Gaelic tale.]

"I did not think it would take so many pages to say so little. I hope it will not do you any harm. Our Napier goes about flourishing spite of the escapade at the Stop the War Meeting. His feathers are longer than usual. Greetings to all. G.H."

FROM CW-528A
Letter from George Henderson dated 26 Sept., 1900

"(I don't like the spelling Morvern. Morvaren would be better.)

Morvern
26 Sept. 1900

My dear Carmichael,

I received yours when I came back to my digs where it has been awaiting my arrival as also a note from Miss Carmichael. I shall certainly write a notice for The Times but perhaps it would be well for me to write direct to Mr. Fyffe to ascertain the length. I suppose there would be no space for a very long article, though I would require quite a brochure it I were to give an adequate account of it. I am so much pressed just now that I have not been able to go over it minutely. If it is published on 11th October as Miss C. informs me I shall be quite in time if I have a notice in The Times the week following. I am much hampered by not having references here. I feel certain [Rhys?] will give me an introduction to The Times but if Miss C. is in London on the 5th it would be quite in place to speak with Fyffe about the matter by all means. I am anxious that you should sell every copy possible. The work will win itself friends both by its contents and appearance. Your introductions are as good as anything in it and are very attractive and interesting both as to form and matter and I am happy you have got rid of diffuseness which I knew you were anxious to avoid. It is an easy snare to fall into. There are a great many points I am sure where you would like to add or subtract or change but now it is for ever in the printed edition outside your control. And there are obscure points which are only likely to be cleared up slowly. I hope you will get it all sold and that you may see your way to give a curtailed edition for popular use. I am very pleased to know you have got such a good appreciation from Jane Menzies as she was disposed to grumble over the price. But ~~no one~~ she could not see that it was to be so superb, a lasting honour both to author and publisher. There are still a good few words in the Text which would require notes. ~~For~~ Many readers such as myself would like some further explanations both for personal information as well as for the pleasure of seeing you lessen certain obscurities. You did wrong in leaving Leipzig after my name though I specially drew Miss Carmichael's attention to it and also your own. It should have been Vienna. All Highlanders will be proud of your book and will look into it often and for many a long year. I hope Mackinnon will see you get your LL.D. I intend to speak to him on the very first opportunity and to Taylor and Flint and Kennedy. Miss Hill is coming with her uncle to a nice place near Stirling at the end of September (the 29th) and she asks me if you are in Edinburgh as she is very anxious to make your acquaintance. She is writing a comprehensive work on The Celtic Churches in Britain. I know few ladies that have her critical gifts. I said you would be very glad to see her if she were near you. I am very sorry for Murdoch.

My paper has run out. I should like to see anything that may be said about your work that would interest me. I ~~might~~ may be able to deal with any such points when I write about it. I am not at all thinking of the Glasgow lectures just now. i hope Maclean may be able to do one thing: that is stir up enthusiasm in Glasgow to establish a bona fide Chair. It is a disgrace for a city with the antecedents and commercial greatness of Glasgow that it should not have a place in its curriculum for a scientific training in the life-history and language and literature of the old Gaelic stock of the country. As soon as possible I am going to begin the issue of a Library of Gaelic Classics; about 24 books; each to be sold about 1/nett; I am going to ~~reduce~~ confine it to the pieces really classical and by making it popular I hope it will help to

keep the people who still speak the language interested in its further life. There are very great difficulties a-head but it will be worth doing for no one has ever yet popularized Gaelic Written Literature. Kindest regards to Mrs. Carmichael and Miss C. and every one of you present or about.

very faithfully yours, George Henderson

Appendix 2.1
Advertisement for CG, from C-W 528 C

IN THE PRESS

Or agus Ob.

Hymns and Incantations.

Large Quarto, on Finest Hand-made Dutch Paper, from 600 to 700 pages. Small issue, and limited to Subscribers only. Price £3 3s. Application to

E. C. CARMICHAEL, 7 ST BERNARDS ROW,
EDINBURGH

THE abundance, excellence and variety of the Oral Literature of the Highlanders of Scotland are now acknowledged. Various causes tended towards fostering this literature, as various other causes now tend towards its extinction.

Impressed with the rapid disappearance of this literature, I began to write it down, and in order to rescue what I could, went to live in the Western Isles, where it was yet comparatively plentiful, verifying everything after the method of the eminent scholar, J. F. Campbell of Islay, my friend and correspondent over a quarter of a century.

The large collection thus formed during the last forty years is divided into two portions—Sacred and Secular.

The Sacred portion is now in course of publication. It consists of Invocations and Incantations in verse, always of great interest, generally of great beauty and power, literally translated into English, with Introductions, and Notes on Natural History, Mythology, Obsolete Terms and Ancient Customs, and with Illustrations. Some attempt has been made to classify the Poems into divisions :— Hymns — I. of Invocation ; II. of Seasons ; III. of Labour ; IV. Incantations ; V. Miscellaneous. The original Gaelic text and the literal English translation face each other on opposite pages.

These compositions reflect the varying phases of thought through which the Highland people passed from Pagan to Reformation times, and reveal Paganism and Christianity meeting, and merging into one another, like the prismatic tints of the rainbow. They are the partial embodiment and the special outcome of the teaching of the Celtic Church and of the Roman Catholic Church, and abound in picturesque and curious Pagan touches of interest in the history of human culture.

The Poems, with the materials of the Introductions and Notes, are believed to be unique, being here reduced to writing for the first time. The aged reciters from whom they were rescued are now nearly all dead, leaving no successors.

The work appeals to the student of Theology, Mythology, Philology, Natural History, Archæology and Art.

ALEXANDER CARMICHAEL.

Appendix 2.2
Advertisement for CG, from C-W 528 C

ÒR AGUS ÒB

HYMNS AND INCANTATIONS

WITH

INTRODUCTIONS AND NOTES ON NATURAL HISTORY MYTHOLOGY
OBSOLETE TERMS AND ANCIENT CUSTOMS

ORALLY COLLECTED IN GAELIC THROUGHOUT THE HIGHLANDS AND ISLANDS
OF SCOTLAND AND LITERALLY TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

ALEXANDER CARMICHAEL

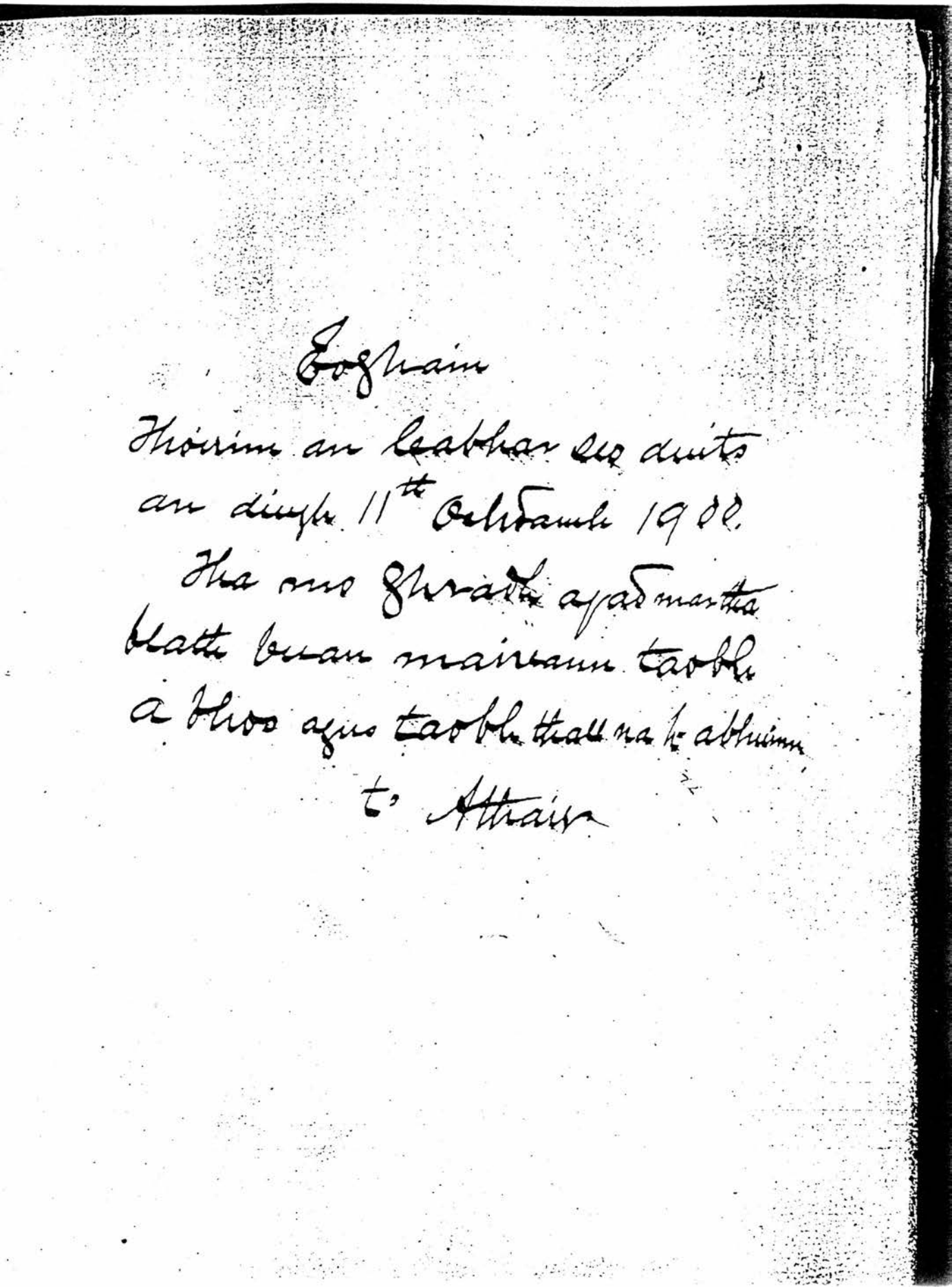
WITH ILLUSTRATIONS

GLASGOW
ARCHIBALD SINCLAIR
CELTIC PRESS
1897

Appendix 2.3

List in AC's hand of people to whom copies of CG were given.
From C-W 528 B (reduced photocopy)

Appendix 2.4
Gaelic inscription on copy of CG from AC to Eoghan K. Carmichael. From Michael A. Carmichael.



Eoghain

Thoirim an leabhar seo duits
an dinghe 11th Octobair 1900.

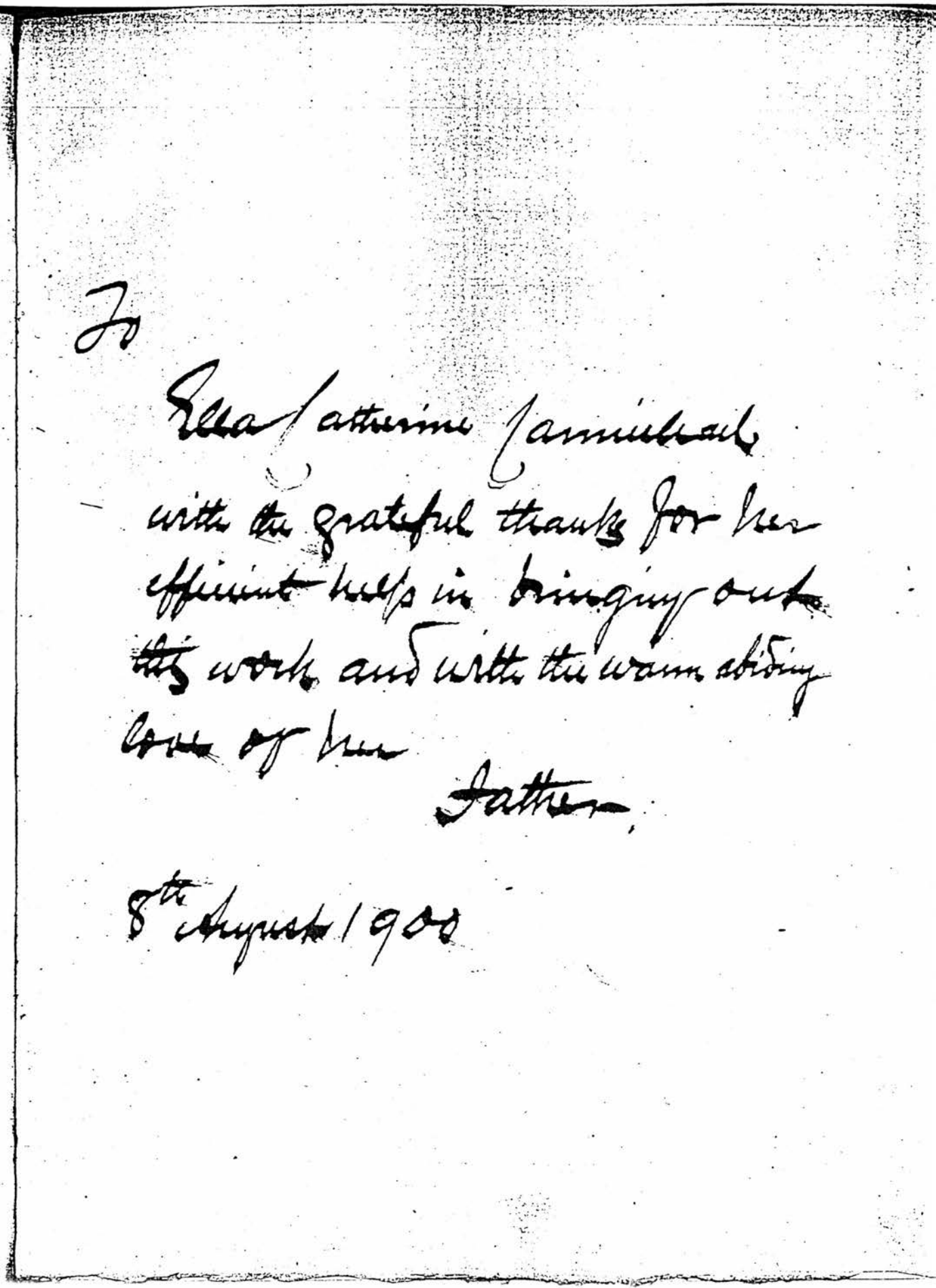
Tha mo ghraidh agad mar tha
blath beau mairean taobh
a bhios agus taobh thall na h-abhainn
t' Athair

Appendix 2.5
English inscription on copy of CG from AC to Eoghan K. Carmichael. From Michael A. Carmichael.

To You,
Eoghan Alexander Carmichael,
With the warm abiding love of Your
Father.

31st March 1900.
4th October 1900

Appendix 2.6
Inscription on copy of CG from AC to Ella Catherine Carmichael.
From Michael A. Carmichael.



To

Ella Catherine Carmichael

with the grateful thanks for her efficient help in bringing out this work and with the warm abiding love of her

Father,

8th August 1902

Appendix 2.7
Inscription on copy of CG from AC to Mary Frances Carmichael. From Michael A. Carmichael.

To thee,

Mary,

The gifted woman,

The devoted mother,

The perfect wife,

& thy grateful husband owes more than words can tell.

We shall not shall not shall flow thee

We shall see dimly now as do thou

We shall gaol oidhche's la dh'eiras

We shall air thalamh agus neimh thus.

My love, my love mine own love art thou

My love to-day as yesterday art thou

My love unto night and day that arise art thou

My love of earth and of heaven art thou

Alexander

30th Oct/900

Appendix 3.1

47 texts referring to God's encompassment

32	I, 79
35	I, 85
39	I, 93
44	I, 103
72	I, 179-81
74	I, 187-9
75	I, 193
83	I, 233
85	I, 237
86	I, 239
87	I, 241
89	I, 247
99	I, 271
101	I, 275
117	I, 319-21
213	II, 209
221	III, 21-3
231	III, 53
232	III, 55
234	III, 59-61
240	III, 77
241	III, 79-83
248	III, 103
249	III, 105
250	III, 107
255	III, 119-25
256	III, 127-33
260	III, 149
261	III, 151
272	III, 185-9
273	III, 191
277.14	III, 205
277.22	III, 207
277.25	III, 207
277.29	III, 209
281	III, 229
295	III, 255
297	III, 263
325	III, 325
326	III, 327
337	III, 355
379	IV, 43-5
380	IV, 47
488	IV, 275
510	IV, 331-7
511	IV, 341-3
603	V, 403

Appendix 3.2

105 prayers concerning every day activities

2	I, 5
11	I, 33
24	I, 61-3
26	I, 67
28	I, 71
29	I, 73
30	I, 75
31	I, 77
32	I, 79
33	I, 81
34	I, 83
35	I, 85
36	I, 87
37	I, 89
38	I, 91
39	I, 93
40	I, 95
41	I, 97
42	I, 99
43	I, 101
82	I, 231
83	I, 233
84	I, 235
85	I, 237
86	I, 239
87	I, 241
88	I, 243-5
89	I, 247
90	I, 249
91	I, 251
92	I, 255-7
93	I, 259
94	I, 261
95	I, 263
96	I, 265
97	I, 267
99	I, 271
100	I, 273
101	I, 275
102	I, 277
103	I, 279
104	I, 281
105	I, 283
106	I, 285-7
107	I, 289-91
108	I, 293
109	I, 295-9
110	I, 301
112	I, 305
113	I, 309
114	I, 311-3
115	I, 315
116	I, 317
117	I, 319-21
118	I, 325-7
119	I, 329
120	I, 331
121	I, 333-5
184	II, 129
185	II, 131
186	II, 133-5
187	II, 137
191	II, 145-51
192	II, 153
200	II, 171
222	III, 27
223	III, 29
224	III, 29
225	III, 31
304	III, 279
318	III, 313
319	III, 315
320	III, 317
324	III, 325
325	III, 325
326	III, 327
327	III, 329-31
328	III, 333
329	III, 335
330	III, 337
331	III, 339
332	III, 341
333	III, 343
334	III, 345
335	III, 347
336	III, 349
337	III, 355
338	III, 357
339	III, 359
340	III, 361-5
373	IV, 33
374	IV, 35
378	IV, 41
379	IV, 43-5
380	IV, 47
381	IV, 49
382	IV, 51-3
387	IV, 63-7
389	IV, 69
395	IV, 79-81
396	IV, 85
397	IV, 87
401	IV, 95
402	IV, 97
403	IV, 99

Appendix 4.1

253 texts with only indirect address to God, saints, angels

15 I, 43
20 I, 53
22 I, 57
23 I, 59
24 I, 61-3
34 I, 83
40 I, 95
64 I, 151
66 I, 157
70 I, 175
83 I, 233
84 I, 235
85 I, 237
86 I, 239
87 I, 241
88 I, 243-5
90 I, 249
91 I, 251
92 I, 255-7
96 I, 265
97 I, 267
100 I, 273
102 I, 277
103 I, 279
104 I, 281
105 I, 283
106 I, 285-7
107 I, 289-91
108 I, 293
113 I, 309
114 I, 311-3
116 I, 317
120 I, 331
121 I, 333-5
126 II, 11
128 II, 15
129 II, 17
130 II, 19
131 II, 19
132 II, 21
133 II, 25
134 II, 29-31
136 II, 35
137 II, 37
140 II, 43
141 II, 45-7
142 II, 49-51
143 II, 53
144 II, 55
145 II, 57
146 II, 59
148 II, 61
149 II, 63
150 II, 65
151 II, 67
152 II, 69
153 II, 71
154 II, 73
156 II, 75
157 II, 77
158 II, 77
159 II, 85
160 II, 87-9
161 II, 91
162 II, 93
163 II, 95
164 II, 95
165 II, 97
166 II, 99
167 II, 101
172 II, 111
173 II, 113
174 II, 115
175 II, 115
178 II, 119
179 II, 119
180 II, 121
181 II, 123
184 II, 129
185 II, 131
186 II, 133-5
187 II, 137
189 II, 139
192 II, 153
193 II, 155-7
198 II, 169
200 II, 171
204 II, 181
215 II, 215
217 III, 7-9
218 III, 11
219 III, 13-5
220 III, 17-9
221 III, 21-3
229 III, 49
230 III, 51
231 III, 53
233 III, 57
245 III, 93
246 III, 95-7
247 III, 99-101
248 III, 103
249 III, 105
250 III, 107
258 III, 137
263 III, 157-9
264 III, 161-3
265 III, 169
267 III, 173
268 III, 175
272 III, 185-9
273 III, 191
274 III, 193
275 III, 195
276 III, 197-9
277.01 III, 201
277.02 III, 201
277.03 III, 201
277.04 III, 201
277.05 III, 201
277.06 III, 203
277.07 III, 203
277.08 III, 203
277.09 III, 203
277.10 III, 203
277.11 III, 203
277.12 III, 203
277.13 III, 205
277.14 III, 205
277.15 III, 205
277.16 III, 205
277.17 III, 205
277.18 III, 205
277.19 III, 205
277.20 III, 205
277.21 III, 207
277.22 III, 207
277.23 III, 207
277.24 III, 207
277.25 III, 207
277.26 III, 207
277.27 III, 209
277.28 III, 209
277.30 III, 209
277.31 III, 209
277.32 III, 211
277.33 III, 211
277.34 III, 211
277.35 III, 211
278 III, 213-5
279 III, 217-25
280 III, 227
281 III, 229

Appendix 4.1

253 texts with only indirect address to God, saints, angels

282	III, 231-3
283	III, 235
284	III, 237
285	III, 237
286	III, 239
287	III, 239
288	III, 241
289	III, 241
290	III, 243
291	III, 245
292	III, 247-9
293	III, 251
294	III, 253
295	III, 255
297	III, 263
298	III, 265
300	III, 269
310	III, 293-5
311	III, 297
312	III, 299
324	III, 325
325	III, 325
326	III, 327
330	III, 337
340	III, 361-5
341	III, 367
345	III, 377
347	III, 383-5
350	III, 393
373	IV, 33
378	IV, 41
379	IV, 43-5
380	IV, 47
381	IV, 49
382	IV, 51-3
401	IV, 95
402	IV, 97
403	IV, 99
408	IV, 109-11
411	IV, 117
418	IV, 129
420	IV, 135
421	IV, 137
423	IV, 141-3
424	IV, 145
425	IV, 147
426	IV, 151
428	IV, 155
429	IV, 157
430	IV, 159-61
432	IV, 166
433	IV, 169
434	IV, 169
435	IV, 171
436	IV, 173-5
438	IV, 179
442	IV, 191
445	IV, 195
446	IV, 199
457	IV, 206
461	IV, 209-13
462	IV, 215-7
463	IV, 218-20
464	IV, 221
465	IV, 223
468	IV, 234-5
470	IV, 239
474	IV, 245
478	IV, 253
479	IV, 255
480	IV, 257
482	IV, 263
483	IV, 265
484	IV, 267-9
485	IV, 268
486	IV, 271
487	IV, 273
488	IV, 275
489	IV, 277-9
491.2	IV, 280
491.5	IV, 282-3
491.7	IV, 283-4
491.8	IV, 284-5
494	IV, 289-91
495	IV, 291
496	IV, 293
497	IV, 295
498	IV, 297
499	IV, 299
502	IV, 305
503	IV, 307
505	IV, 311
506	IV, 313
513	IV, 351
564	V, 251
572	V, 287
573	V, 291
574.1	V, 291
575	V, 297
603	V, 403

Appendix 4.2

186 texts which use spatial prepositions in reference to God

1	I, 3	upon
4	I, 13	around down upwards
6	I, 19-21	about upon
7	I, 23-5	about over upon
12	I, 35	down upon
13	I, 37	beneath over
14	I, 39-41	beneath
16	I, 45	down
17	I, 47	upon
18	I, 49	about before behind below
26	I, 67	down over under
29	I, 73	upon
30	I, 75	beneath
31	I, 77	under
33	I, 81	beneath
37	I, 89	downwards upwards
38	I, 91	above below
39	I, 93	before above
40	I, 95	beneath
46	I, 107	under
47	I, 109	beneath upon
50	I, 115	down upon
51	I, 117	before
53	I, 121	upon
56	I, 133	down
57	I, 135-7	about upon
58	I, 139	upon
62	I, 147	down
68	I, 161	above
70	I, 175	under
72	I, 179-81	upon
73	I, 183-5	beneath
74	I, 187-9	about above
75	I, 193	around over under
76	I, 195-7	under
78	I, 213-5	around
79	I, 217-21	under
80	I, 223	above
82	I, 231	over
86	I, 239	down
89	I, 247	beneath
90	I, 249	upwards
93	I, 259	down
97	I, 267	down
99	I, 271	around beneath
102	I, 277	about
107	I, 289-91	above
109	I, 295-9	above around beneath down
110	I, 301	beneath
114	I, 311-3	above
117	I, 319-21	down above
118	I, 325-7	down above
121	I, 333-5	over
126	II, 11	before
128	II, 15	down
129	II, 17	between down
134	II, 29-31	about above behind between
135	II, 33	upon
137	II, 37	about behind upon
141	II, 45-7	over upon
142	II, 49-51	above
143	II, 53	against over upon
145	II, 57	upon
146	II, 59	against before
153	II, 71	over above
155	II, 75	between
161	II, 91	about before over
165	II, 97	beneath over
166	II, 99	over
169	II, 105	down
171	II, 109	before
183	II, 127	upon
184	II, 129	against
186	II, 133-5	before
188	II, 137	above
194	II, 159	before behind over under
195	II, 163-5	down
197	II, 167	upon
198	II, 169	upon
200	II, 171	between upon
201	II, 173-5	upon
204	II, 181	upon
215	II, 215	beneath
228	III, 41-7	above below
232	III, 55	upon
233	III, 57	between (betwixt)
234	III, 59-61	about under upon below between
235	III, 63	under
238	III, 71	upon
241	III, 79-83	between over upon
243	III, 87	down
244	III, 89-91	against beneath down upon
245	III, 93	over above below
246	III, 95-7	about against around over

Appendix 4.2

186 texts which use spatial prepositions in reference to God

247	III, 99-101	about below
248	III, 103	upon
253	III, 115	before
254	III, 117	over
255	III, 119-25	over
256	III, 127-33	upon
259	III, 145-7	over above
260	III, 149	beneath upon
266	III, 171	before behind above
267	III, 173	before
270	III, 179	beneath
271	III, 181	beneath
272	III, 185-9	against before upon
273	III, 191	down over
274	III, 193	about
276	III, 197-9	about over
277.04	III, 201	upon
277.14	III, 205	upon
277.15	III, 205	upon
277.29	III, 209	before behind over under around
278	III, 213-5	before behind downwards over upwards
279	III, 217-25	around before behind down downwards over under upon upwards above below
280	III, 227	before upon
281	III, 229	about
292	III, 247-9	upon
295	III, 255	around
296	III, 257-9	upon
297	III, 263	around between
298	III, 265	upon
299	III, 267	above between
305	III, 281-3	below
308	III, 289	over
310	III, 293-5	below
311	III, 297	down upwards below
316	III, 307	upon
321	III, 319	before behind upon above below
322	III, 321	under
325	III, 325	upon
326	III, 327	about upon
331	III, 339	beneath above
332	III, 341	between
335	III, 347	over
341	III, 367	upon
342	III, 369	upon
344	III, 375	above
347	III, 383-5	about before
348	III, 387	down within
381	IV, 49	against
382	IV, 51-3	about
385	IV, 55-61	behind
389	IV, 69	unde
395	IV, 79-81	upon
400	IV, 93	against
408	IV, 109-11	behind
418	IV, 129	against
420	IV, 135	beneath
423	IV, 141-3	against
430	IV, 159-61	against upon
431	IV, 165	upon
433	IV, 169	against
434	IV, 169	upon
436	IV, 173-5	against over
437	IV, 177	against
439	IV, 181-3	against
442	IV, 191	against
446	IV, 199	about against
466	IV, 227-9	against
468	IV, 234-5	upon
469	IV, 237-9	upon
470	IV, 239	upon
473	IV, 243	upon
474	IV, 245	upon
478	IV, 253	upon
479	IV, 255	upon
480	IV, 257	over
484	IV, 267-9	upon
486	IV, 271	upon
489	IV, 277-9	upon
490	IV, 279	upon
498	IV, 297	against
503	IV, 307	over
506	IV, 313	between upon
510	IV, 331-7	around within
511	IV, 341-3	behind upon
512	IV, 345-9	under
545	V, 151-3	upon
563	V, 247-9	upon
564	V, 251	between
572	V, 287	before behind over below
575	V, 297	before behind beneath over upon within
593	V, 379	against
603	V, 403	before behind beneath

Liturgical Text	*Carmina Gadelica* Text
"Hail Mary / *Ave Maria*"	"Hail to Thee, Mary" (48; I, 111)
Hail, Mary Full of grace The Lord is with thee, Blessed art thou amongst women And blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus. Holy Mary, Mother of God, Pray for us sinners Now and at the hour of our death. Amen.	Hail to thee, Mary, Mother! Thou art full of loving grace, The Lord God is always with thee, Blessed art thou Mary among women, Blessed is the fruit of thy womb, Jesus, Blessed art thou, Queen of grace; Thou holy Mary, thou Mother of Jesus, Plead for me a miserable sinner, Now and at the hour of my death, Now and at the hour of my death!
"Hail, Holy Queen / *Salve Regina*"[1]	"Hail Mary" (47; I, 109)
Hail, holy Queen mother of mercy, our life, our sweetness, and our hope.	Hail, Mary! hail, Mary! Queen of grace, Mother of mercy; Hail, Mary, in manner surpassing, Fount of our health, source of our joy.
To you do we cry, poor banished children of Eve. To you do we send up our sighs, mourning and weeping in this vale of tears.	To thee we, night and day, Erring children of Adam and Eve, Lift our voice in supplication, In groans and grief and tears.
Turn then, most gracious advocate, your eyes of mercy towards us,	Bestow upon us, thou Root of gladness, Since thou art the cup of generous graces, The faith of John, and Peter, and Paul, With the wings of Ariel on the heights of the clouds.
and after this exile show to us the blessed fruit of your womb, Jesus. O clement, O loving, O sweet Virgin Mary.	Vouchsafe to us, thou golden branch, A mansion in the Realm of peace, Rest from the perils and stress of waves, Beneath the shade of the fruit of thy womb, Jesu.
"Prayer to the Holy Spirit / *Veni Sancte Spiritus*" (p.791)	"Holy Spirit" (244; III, 89-91)
Come, Holy Spirit, fill the hearts of your faithful. Enkindle in them the fire of your love.	O Holy Spirit of greatest power, Come down upon us and subdue us; From Thy glorious mansion in the heavens, Thy light effulgent shed on us.
Father, You taught the hearts of your faithful people by sending them the light of your Holy Spirit. In that Spirit give us right judgement and the joy of his comfort and guidance. We ask this through our Lord Jesus Christ, your Son, who lives and reigns with you and the Holy Spirit one God, for ever and ever.	Father beloved of every naked one, From Whom all gifts and goodness come, Our hearts illumine with Thy mercy, In Thy mercy shield us from all harm. Without Thy divinity there is nothing In man that can earn esteem; Without Thyself, O King of kings, Sinless man can never be.

[1] *The Sunday Missal* (London: Collins, 1975), p. 800. Hereafter cited parenthetically.

Liturgical Text	*Carmina Gadelica* Text
	In succour Thou art of all the best Against the soul of wildest speech; Food art thou sweeter than all; Sustain and guide us at every time. The knee that is stiff, O Healer, make pliant, The heart that is hard make warm beneath Thy wing; The soul that is wandering from Thy path, Grasp Thou his helm and he shall not die. Each thing that is foul cleanse Thou early, Each thing that is hard soften Thou with Thy grace, Each wound that is working us pain, O Best of healers, make Thou whole! Give Thou to Thy people to be diligent To put their trust in Thee as God, That Thou mayest help them in every hour With thy sevenfold gift, O Holy Spirit generous!
"*Memorare*" (p.799)	"Prayer to Mary Mother" (255; III, 119-25)
Remember, O most blessed Virgin Mary, that never was it known that anyone who fled to your protection,	O Mary Maiden, Never was known One who was placed 'Neath thy generous care,
implored your aid or sought your intercession, was left unaided.	Who asked thy mercy, Who asked thy shielding, Who asked thy succour With truthful heart, Who found not thy solace, Who found not thy peace, Who found not the succour For which he sought.
Filled, therefore, with confidence in your goodness,	That gives unto me The hope excelling That my tears and my prayer May find guest-room with the. . . ..
I fly to you, Virgin of virgins, my mother. To you I come, before you I stand, sinful and sorrowful. O Mother of the Word Incarnate,	(p.123) To come into thy presence, Thou Virgin of the lowly, To come into thy presence, Thou Mother of Jesus Christ; With lament and with sorrow, With prayer and supplication, With grief and with weeping, With invoking and entreaty; .....
despise not my petition, but in your mercy hear and answer me. Amen.	(p.125) Grant me my prayer of love, Grant me my entreaty for shielding....

Appendix 4.4

83 texts which refer to God/King/Being, etc. "...of life"

4	I, 13
24	I, 61-3
73	I, 183-5
83	I, 233
122	II, 3
131	II, 19
132	II, 21
134	II, 29-31
140	II, 43
141	II, 45-7
144	II, 55
149	II, 63
150	II, 65
153	II, 71
158	II, 77
159	II, 85
160	II, 87-9
173	II, 113
178	II, 119
188	II, 137
194	II, 159
197	II, 167
198	II, 169
215	II, 215
223	III, 29
227	III, 35-9
228	III, 41-7
232	III, 55
234	III, 59-61
236	III, 65-7
238	III, 71
239	III, 73-5
241	III, 79-83
243	III, 87
249	III, 105
253	III, 115
256	III, 127-33
266	III, 171
272	III, 185-9
273	III, 191
277.22	III, 207
277.25	III, 207
279	III, 217-25
280	III, 227
281	III, 229
291	III, 245
295	III, 255
299	III, 267
305	III, 281-3
308	III, 289
310	III, 293-5
311	III, 297
316	III, 307
323	III, 323
329	III, 335
331	III, 339
333	III, 343
337	III, 355
342	III, 369
347	III, 383-5
415	IV, 123-5
425	IV, 147
431	IV, 165
433	IV, 169
461	IV, 209-13
466	IV, 227-9
468	IV, 234-5
469	IV, 237-9
471	IV, 241
472	IV, 241
473	IV, 243
474	IV, 245
475	IV, 247
482	IV, 263
490	IV, 279
491.2	IV, 280
491.7	IV, 283-4
497	IV, 295
502	IV, 305
511	IV, 341-3
572	V, 287
573	V, 291
588	V, 355-9

Appendix 4.5

40 texts with references to God/King/Son, etc. of the elements/heavens/sun etc.

elements	**heavens**	**sun**	**moon**	**stars**
59 I, 141	35 I, 85	9 I, 29	9 I, 29	9 I, 29
80 I, 223	59 I, 141	36 I, 87	59 I, 141	16 I, 45
88 I, 243	228 III, 41	59 I, 141	60 I, 143	197 II, 167
91 I, 251	234 III, 59	60 I, 143	97 I, 267	223 III, 29
117 I, 319	241 III, 79	83 I, 233	197 II, 167	241 III, 79
118 I, 325	244 III, 89	97 I, 267	198 II, 169	280 III, 227
119 I, 329	335 III, 347	197 II, 167	223 III, 29	301 III, 271
121 I, 333	503 IV, 307	198 II, 169	241 III, 79	332 III, 341
191 II, 151	512 IV, 345	223 III, 29	[8 texts	342 III, 369
250 III, 107	[9 texts	241 III, 79	8 occurrences]	379 IV, 43
301 III, 271	9 occurrences]	379 IV, 45	_____	387 IV, 63
340 III, 361	_____	510 IV, 328		[11 texts
401 IV, 95		525 V, 37		12 occur-
519 V, 3		588 V, 355		rences]
577 V, 307		[14 texts		_____
[15 texts		15 occur-		
24 occur-		rences]		
rences]	**sky/ies**		**planets**	**globe**
	9 I, 29		9 I, 29	9 I, 29
	59 I, 141		59 I, 141	59 I, 141
	197 II, 167		[2 texts	197 II, 167
	241 III, 81		2 occurrences]	[3 texts
	[4 texts			3 occurrences]
	4 occurrences]			

TOTAL:

40 texts
77 occur-
rences

Appendix 4.6

128 texts which use a Trinitarian Formula

1	I, 3
2	I, 5
3	I, 7-11
7	I, 23-5
12	I, 35
15	I, 43
24	I, 61-3
27	I, 69
29	I, 73
30	I, 75
32	I, 79
34	I, 83
36	I, 87
54	I, 123
74	I, 187-9
75	I, 193
88	I, 243-5
92	I, 255-7
100	I, 273
104	I, 281
109	I, 295-9
119	I, 329
121	I, 333-5
140	II, 43
142	II, 49-51
144	II, 55
145	II, 57
146	II, 59
150	II, 65
152	II, 69
156	II, 75
161	II, 91
172	II, 111
180	II, 121
182	II, 125
185	II, 131
187	II, 137
200	II, 171
217	III, 7-9
218	III, 11
219	III, 13-5
220	III, 17-9
221	III, 21-3
227	III, 35-9
228	III, 41-7
229	III, 49
233	III, 57
234	III, 59-61
235	III, 63
239	III, 73-5
249	III, 105
250	III, 107
255	III, 119-25
258	III, 137
267	III, 173
268	III, 175
275	III, 195
277.02	III, 201
277.03	III, 201
277.04	III, 201
277.06	III, 203
277.15	III, 205
277.20	III, 205
277.21	III, 207
277.22	III, 207
277.25	III, 207
277.27	III, 209
277.28	III, 209
277.31	III, 209
277.32	III, 211
277.33	III, 211
277.34	III, 211
277.35	III, 211
278	III, 213-5
279	III, 217-25
281	III, 229
290	III, 243
291	III, 245
292	III, 247-9
294	III, 253
295	III, 255
328	III, 333
329	III, 335
330	III, 337
337	III, 355
340	III, 361-5
379	IV, 43-5
401	IV, 95
402	IV, 97
408	IV, 109-11
415	IV, 123-5
418	IV, 129
419	IV, 131
421	IV, 137
424	IV, 145
425	IV, 147
426	IV, 151
428	IV, 155
431	IV, 165
435	IV, 171
436	IV, 173-5
442	IV, 191
445	IV, 195
461	IV, 209-13
462	IV, 215-7
464	IV, 221
465	IV, 223
466	IV, 227-9
468	IV, 234-5
469	IV, 237-9
470	IV, 239
472	IV, 241
473	IV, 243
474	IV, 245
479	IV, 255
482	IV, 263
485	IV, 268
487	IV, 273
488	IV, 275
489	IV, 277-9
490	IV, 279
491.2	IV, 280
491.5	IV, 282-3
491.6	IV, 283
491.7	IV, 283-4
491.8	IV, 284-5
502	IV, 305
603	V, 403

Appendix 4.7

76 texts which only refer to God within the Trinitarian Formula

24	I, 61-3
29	I, 73
30	I, 75
32	I, 79
54	I, 123
92	I, 255-7
104	I, 281
121	I, 333-5
142	II, 49-51
152	II, 69
156	II, 75
180	II, 121
182	II, 125
185	II, 131
187	II, 137
200	II, 171
217	III, 7-9
218	III, 11
220	III, 17-9
221	III, 21-3
229	III, 49
233	III, 57
235	III, 63
249	III, 105
250	III, 107
258	III, 137
267	III, 173
268	III, 175
275	III, 195
277.02	III, 201
277.03	III, 201
277.06	III, 203
277.15	III, 205
277.20	III, 205
277.21	III, 207
277.22	III, 207
277.25	III, 207
277.27	III, 209
277.28	III, 209
277.31	III, 209
277.32	III, 211
277.33	III, 211
277.34	III, 211
281	III, 229
290	III, 243
291	III, 245
294	III, 253
328	III, 333
340	III, 361-5
401	IV, 95
402	IV, 97
408	IV, 109-11
421	IV, 137
424	IV, 145
425	IV, 147
426	IV, 151
428	IV, 155
435	IV, 171
442	IV, 191
462	IV, 215-7
464	IV, 221
465	IV, 223
466	IV, 227-9
472	IV, 241
473	IV, 243
479	IV, 255
485	IV, 268
487	IV, 273
488	IV, 275
489	IV, 277-9
490	IV, 279
491.2	IV, 280
491.5	IV, 282-3
491.6	IV, 283
491.7	IV, 283-4
502	IV, 305

Appendix 4.8

104 texts which refer to God as "Father"

1	I, 3
7	I, 23-5
12	I, 35
15	I, 43
16	I, 45
18	I, 49
27	I, 69
29	I, 73
30	I, 75
32	I, 79
34	I, 83
36	I, 87
39	I, 93
50	I, 115
54	I, 123
74	I, 187-9
75	I, 193
78	I, 213-5
88	I, 243-5
109	I, 295-9
119	I, 329
121	I, 333-5
140	II, 43
142	II, 49-51
144	II, 55
145	II, 57
146	II, 59
150	II, 65
152	II, 69
156	II, 75
161	II, 91
172	II, 111
180	II, 121
182	II, 125
185	II, 131
187	II, 137
217	III, 7-9
218	III, 11
219	III, 13-5
220	III, 17-9
221	III, 21-3
227	III, 35-9
228	III, 41-7
229	III, 49
234	III, 59-61
235	III, 63
236	III, 65-7
237	III, 69
240	III, 77
241	III, 79-83
244	III, 89-91
247	III, 99-101
251	III, 109
256	III, 127-33
258	III, 137
268	III, 175
269	III, 177
277.05	III, 201
277.07	III, 203
277.12	III, 203
278	III, 213-5
279	III, 217-25
288	III, 241
290	III, 243
292	III, 247-9
311	III, 297
322	III, 321
330	III, 337
335	III, 347
336	III, 349
346	III, 379-81
401	IV, 95
402	IV, 97
418	IV, 129
419	IV, 131
421	IV, 137
424	IV, 145
426	IV, 151
428	IV, 155
431	IV, 165
435	IV, 171
436	IV, 173-5
442	IV, 191
445	IV, 195
461	IV, 209-13
462	IV, 215-7
464	IV, 221
465	IV, 223
468	IV, 234-5
470	IV, 239
474	IV, 245
479	IV, 255
485	IV, 268
487	IV, 273
488	IV, 275
489	IV, 277-9
490	IV, 279
491.5	IV, 282-3
491.6	IV, 283
491.7	IV, 283-4
491.8	IV, 284-5
508	IV, 321
510	IV, 331-7
603	V, 403

Appendix 4.9

295 texts which refer to "Christ," "Son, or "Jesus"

1	I, 3	73	I, 183-5	156	II, 75
2	I, 5	74	I, 187-9	160	II, 87-9
3	I, 7-11	75	I, 193	161	II, 91
4	I, 13	76	I, 195-7	165	II, 97
6	I, 19-21	78	I, 213-5	166	II, 99
7	I, 23-5	79	I, 217-21	172	II, 111
12	I, 35	82	I, 231	173	II, 113
14	I, 39-41	83	I, 233	175	II, 115
15	I, 43	85	I, 237	177	II, 117
16	I, 45	86	I, 239	178	II, 119
18	I, 49	87	I, 241	180	II, 121
19	I, 51	88	I, 243-5	182	II, 125
20	I, 53	91	I, 251	183	II, 127
21	I, 55	92	I, 255-7	184	II, 129
22	I, 57	96	I, 265	185	II, 131
23	I, 59	99	I, 271	187	II, 137
24	I, 61-3	100	I, 273	194	II, 159
25	I, 65	102	I, 277	196	II, 167
26	I, 67	103	I, 279	198	II, 169
27	I, 69	104	I, 281	200	II, 171
28	I, 71	105	I, 283	201	II, 173-5
29	I, 73	106	I, 285-7	208	II, 191
30	I, 75	109	I, 295-9	209	II, 193
31	I, 77	110	I, 301	213	II, 209
32	I, 79	115	I, 315	217	III, 7-9
33	I, 81	116	I, 317	218	III, 11
34	I, 83	117	I, 319-21	219	III, 13-5
36	I, 87	118	I, 325-7	220	III, 17-9
37	I, 89	119	I, 329	221	III, 21-3
40	I, 95	120	I, 331	224	III, 29
41	I, 97	121	I, 333-5	227	III, 35-9
43	I, 101	122	II, 3	228	III, 41-7
46	I, 107	123	II, 5	229	III, 49
48	I, 111	128	II, 15	230	III, 51
49	I, 113	129	II, 17	233	III, 57
51	I, 117	131	II, 19	234	III, 59-61
52	I, 119	132	II, 21	235	III, 63
53	I, 121	134	II, 29-31	237	III, 69
54	I, 123	137	II, 37	239	III, 73-5
55	I, 127-31	140	II, 43	240	III, 77
56	I, 133	142	II, 49-51	241	III, 79-83
58	I, 139	143	II, 53	246	III, 95-7
59	I, 141	144	II, 55	247	III, 99-101
60	I, 143	145	II, 57	248	III, 103
61	I, 145	146	II, 59	249	III, 105
62	I, 147	148	II, 61	250	III, 107
64	I, 151	149	II, 63	251	III, 109
65	I, 153-5	150	II, 65	252	III, 111-3
68	I, 161	152	II, 69	253	III, 115
70	I, 175	153	II, 71	254	III, 117
71	I, 177	155	II, 75	255	III, 119-25

Appendix 4.9

295 texts which refer to "Christ," "Son, or "Jesus"

256	III, 127-33
258	III, 137
262	III, 153
264	III, 161-3
266	III, 171
267	III, 173
268	III, 175
269	III, 177
272	III, 185-9
273	III, 191
274	III, 193
275	III, 195
276	III, 197-9
277.03	III, 201
277.04	III, 201
277.06	III, 203
277.08	III, 203
277.13	III, 205
277.15	III, 205
277.20	III, 205
277.21	III, 207
277.22	III, 207
277.25	III, 207
277.27	III, 209
277.28	III, 209
277.29	III, 209
277.31	III, 209
277.32	III, 211
277.33	III, 211
277.34	III, 211
277.35	III, 211
278	III, 213-5
279	III, 217-25
280	III, 227
281	III, 229
287	III, 239
290	III, 243
291	III, 245
292	III, 247-9
293	III, 251
294	III, 253
295	III, 255
296	III, 257-9
297	III, 263
298	III, 265
299	III, 267
301	III, 271-3
305	III, 281-3
311	III, 297
322	III, 321
325	III, 325
326	III, 327
327	III, 329-31
328	III, 333
329	III, 335
330	III, 337
334	III, 345
337	III, 355
339	III, 359
340	III, 361-5
341	III, 367
343	III, 373
346	III, 379-81
347	III, 383-5
348	III, 387
349	III, 389-91
351	III, 395
372	IV, 29-31
374	IV, 35
379	IV, 43-5
385	IV, 55-61
395	IV, 79-81
397	IV, 87
401	IV, 95
402	IV, 97
411	IV, 117
415	IV, 123-5
418	IV, 129
419	IV, 131
421	IV, 137
422	IV, 139
424	IV, 145
425	IV, 147
426	IV, 151
428	IV, 155
429	IV, 157
431	IV, 165
433	IV, 169
435	IV, 171
436	IV, 173-5
440	IV, 185-7
441	IV, 189
442	IV, 191
443	IV, 193
444	IV, 193
445	IV, 195
446	IV, 199
457	IV, 206
461	IV, 209-13
462	IV, 215-7
464	IV, 221
465	IV, 223
466	IV, 227-9
468	IV, 234-5
469	IV, 237-9
470	IV, 239
472	IV, 241
473	IV, 243
474	IV, 245
479	IV, 255
481	IV, 259-61
482	IV, 263
483	IV, 265
485	IV, 268
486	IV, 271
487	IV, 273
488	IV, 275
489	IV, 277-9
490	IV, 279
491.2	IV, 280
491.5	IV, 282-3
491.6	IV, 283
491.7	IV, 283-4
491.8	IV, 284-5
497	IV, 295
502	IV, 305
503	IV, 307
506	IV, 313
510	IV, 331-7
511	IV, 341-3
512	IV, 345-9
518	IV, 367
532	V, 67-83
533.1	V, 93-99
554	V, 185-9
564	V, 251
570	V, 277-9
572	V, 287
573	V, 291
574.1	V, 291
575	V, 297
603	V, 403

Appendix 4.10

137 texts which refer to "Spirit"

1	I, 3
2	I, 5
3	I, 7-11
7	I, 23-5
12	I, 35
15	I, 43
24	I, 61-3
26	I, 67
27	I, 69
29	I, 73
30	I, 75
32	I, 79
34	I, 83
36	I, 87
54	I, 123
74	I, 187-9
75	I, 193
88	I, 243-5
92	I, 255-7
100	I, 273
104	I, 281
109	I, 295-9
119	I, 329
121	I, 333-5
140	II, 43
142	II, 49-51
144	II, 55
145	II, 57
146	II, 59
150	II, 65
152	II, 69
156	II, 75
161	II, 91
172	II, 111
180	II, 121
182	II, 125
185	II, 131
187	II, 137
200	II, 171
217	III, 7-9
218	III, 11
219	III, 13-5
220	III, 17-9
221	III, 21-3
227	III, 35-9
228	III, 41-7
229	III, 49
233	III, 57
234	III, 59-61
235	III, 63
239	III, 73-5
243	III, 87
244	III, 89-91
249	III, 105
250	III, 107
254	III, 117
255	III, 119-25
258	III, 137
267	III, 173
268	III, 175
275	III, 195
277.01	III, 201
277.02	III, 201
277.03	III, 201
277.04	III, 201
277.06	III, 203
277.15	III, 205
277.20	III, 205
277.21	III, 207
277.22	III, 207
277.23	III, 207
277.25	III, 207
277.27	III, 209
277.28	III, 209
277.31	III, 209
277.32	III, 211
277.33	III, 211
277.34	III, 211
277.35	III, 211
278	III, 213-5
279	III, 217-25
281	III, 229
290	III, 243
291	III, 245
292	III, 247-9
294	III, 253
295	III, 255
328	III, 333
329	III, 335
330	III, 337
337	III, 355
340	III, 361-5
345	III, 377
349	III, 389-91
350	III, 393
379	IV, 43-5
401	IV, 95
402	IV, 97
408	IV, 109-11
415	IV, 123-5
418	IV, 129
419	IV, 131
421	IV, 137
424	IV, 145
425	IV, 147
426	IV, 151
428	IV, 155
431	IV, 165
435	IV, 171
436	IV, 173-5
442	IV, 191
445	IV, 195
462	IV, 215-7
464	IV, 221
465	IV, 223
466	IV, 227-9
468	IV, 234-5
469	IV, 237-9
470	IV, 239
472	IV, 241
473	IV, 243
474	IV, 245
479	IV, 255
482	IV, 263
485	IV, 268
487	IV, 273
488	IV, 275
489	IV, 277-9
490	IV, 279
491.2	IV, 280
491.5	IV, 282-3
491.6	IV, 283
491.7	IV, 283-4
491.8	IV, 284-5
502	IV, 305
510	IV, 331-7
603	V, 403

Appendix 4.11

87 texts which refer to "Trinity," "Three," or "Triune"

1	I, 3
17	I, 47
24	I, 61-3
29	I, 73
30	I, 75
34	I, 83
36	I, 87
50	I, 115
54	I, 123
62	I, 147
73	I, 183-5
74	I, 187-9
75	I, 193
77	I, 209-11
84	I, 235
104	I, 281
106	I, 285-7
107	I, 289-91
115	I, 315
117	I, 319-21
118	I, 325-7
119	I, 329
131	II, 19
132	II, 21
141	II, 45-7
146	II, 59
150	II, 65
154	II, 73
165	II, 97
166	II, 99
167	II, 101
212	II, 203-7
216	II, 217
217	III, 7-9
219	III, 13-5
220	III, 17-9
221	III, 21-3
226	III, 33
228	III, 41-7
229	III, 49
234	III, 59-61
235	III, 63
239	III, 73-5
241	III, 79-83
248	III, 103
249	III, 105
267	III, 173
268	III, 175
277.02	III, 201
277.04	III, 201
281	III, 229
340	III, 361-5
347	III, 383-5
401	IV, 95
402	IV, 97
415	IV, 123-5
419	IV, 131
420	IV, 135
424	IV, 145
425	IV, 147
426	IV, 151
428	IV, 155
431	IV, 165
435	IV, 171
436	IV, 173-5
438	IV, 179
461	IV, 209-13
462	IV, 215-7
463	IV, 218-20
464	IV, 221
465	IV, 223
466	IV, 227-9
470	IV, 239
473	IV, 243
474	IV, 245
479	IV, 255
485	IV, 268
487	IV, 273
488	IV, 275
491.2	IV, 280
491.5	IV, 282-3
491.6	IV, 283
491.7	IV, 283-4
491.8	IV, 284-5
501	IV, 303
502	IV, 305
603	V, 403

Appendix 4.12

26 texts which refer to Son/Christ/Jesus of tears, wounds, blood, Pasch, Passion, cross, tears, sorrow

16	I, 45
33	I, 81
41	I, 97
42	I, 99
73	I, 183-5
74	I, 187-9
117	I, 319-21
119	I, 329
161	II, 91
175	II, 115
180	II, 121
202	II, 177
241	III, 79-83
251	III, 109
301	III, 271-3
322	III, 321
330	III, 337
334	III, 345
442	IV, 191
468	IV, 234-5
470	IV, 239
473	IV, 243
490	IV, 279
491.8	IV, 284-5
510	IV, 331-7
512	IV, 345-9

Appendix 4.13

46 texts which refer to "Son of Mary/Virgin" or "Fosterling/son of Brigit"

4	I, 13
6	I, 19-21
16	I, 45
34	I, 83
36	I, 87
37	I, 89
40	I, 95
49	I, 113
53	I, 121
55	I, 127-31
56	I, 133
59	I, 141
60	I, 143
75	I, 193
82	I, 231
83	I, 233
86	I, 239
104	I, 281
120	I, 331
173	II, 113
175	II, 115
200	II, 171
240	III, 77
241	III, 79-83
246	III, 95-7
252	III, 111-3
267	III, 173
277.04	III, 201
277.13	III, 205
277.15	III, 205
277.35	III, 211
295	III, 255
301	III, 271-3
325	III, 325
326	III, 327
327	III, 329-31
334	III, 345
339	III, 359
340	III, 361-5
372	IV, 29-31
422	IV, 139
510	IV, 331-7
511	IV, 341-3
518	IV, 367
554	V, 185-9
574.1	V, 291

Appendix 4.14

138 texts which refer to God as "King"

3	I, 7-11
4	I, 13
6	I, 19-21
9	I, 29
13	I, 37
23	I, 59
26	I, 67
31	I, 77
33	I, 81
35	I, 85
36	I, 87
37	I, 89
50	I, 115
51	I, 117
52	I, 119
55	I, 127-31
56	I, 133
57	I, 135-7
58	I, 139
60	I, 143
68	I, 161
74	I, 187-9
77	I, 209-11
78	I, 213-5
79	I, 217-21
80	I, 223
81	I, 225-7
83	I, 233
88	I, 243-5
90	I, 249
91	I, 251
92	I, 255-7
93	I, 259
97	I, 267
99	I, 271
100	I, 273
101	I, 275
106	I, 285-7
109	I, 295-9
115	I, 315
117	I, 319-21
118	I, 325-7
119	I, 329
121	I, 333-5
122	II, 3
132	II, 21
134	II, 29-31
140	II, 43
144	II, 55
148	II, 61
149	II, 63
150	II, 65
153	II, 71
158	II, 77
159	II, 85
160	II, 87-9
165	II, 97
166	II, 99
169	II, 105
172	II, 111
173	II, 113
194	II, 159
195	II, 163-5
196	II, 167
197	II, 167
198	II, 169
201	II, 173-5
202	II, 177
223	III, 29
228	III, 41-7
239	III, 73-5
243	III, 87
244	III, 89-91
248	III, 103
252	III, 111-3
253	III, 115
254	III, 117
255	III, 119-25
262	III, 153
271	III, 181
272	III, 185-9
274	III, 193
277.22	III, 207
277.28	III, 209
279	III, 217-25
280	III, 227
289	III, 241
298	III, 265
299	III, 267
301	III, 271-3
310	III, 293-5
311	III, 297
312	III, 299
316	III, 307
323	III, 323
329	III, 335
330	III, 337
340	III, 361-5
342	III, 369
348	III, 387
372	IV, 29-31
379	IV, 43-5
387	IV, 63-7
425	IV, 147
430	IV, 159-61
440	IV, 185-7
443	IV, 193
445	IV, 195
461	IV, 209-13
466	IV, 227-9
468	IV, 234-5
469	IV, 237-9
470	IV, 239
471	IV, 241
472	IV, 241
473	IV, 243
474	IV, 245
475	IV, 247
481	IV, 259-61
491.2	IV, 280
494	IV, 289-91
502	IV, 305
503	IV, 307
510	IV, 331-7
511	IV, 341-3
514	IV, 353-5
524	V, 33-5
525	V, 37
532	V, 67-83
564	V, 251
572	V, 287
573	V, 291
574.1	V, 291
577	V, 307
579	V, 323-5
585	V, 341
587	V, 347-53
588	V, 355-9

Appendix 5.1

38 texts which refer to saints or angels as donors/composers of "charm," "rune," "spell," "augury," "incantation," etc.

94	I, 261	charm, Mary
125	II, 9	charm, Gillecaluim, Fionn
126	II, 11	incantation, Brigit
128	II, 15	rune, Brigit; charm, Columba
134	II, 29-31	charm, Brigit and Mary (God)
136	II, 35	charm, Brigit
137	II, 37	sain, Mary
143	II, 53	spell, Mary
146	II, 59	charm, Peter, James, John
149	II, 63	incantation, (King, God), Brigit, Mary, Peter & Paul, Ariel & John
150	II, 65	spell, Peter, Paul, James, John, Columba, Patrick, Brigit, Mary, (God)
151	II, 67	spell, Mary (to Brigit)
152	II, 69	spell, Mary (to Brigit)
184	II, 129	charm, (Christ, Lord) Mary
189	II, 139	spell, Columba
192	II, 153	charm, Mary (to Brigit)
194	II, 159	augury, Mary, Brigit
246	III, 95-7	charm, Brigit, Mary, Michael, (God's Son)
263	III, 157(?)	genealogy of Brigit
278	III, 213-5	grace, Brigit
279	III, 217-25	charm, Brigit
381	IV, 49	sain, Mary
382	IV, 51-3	charm, Brigit
385	IV, 55-61	lilt, Columba
396	IV, 85	charm, Columba
430	IV, 159	charm, Mary (God)
436	IV, 173-5	charm, Peter, Paul, John
441	IV, 191(?)	charm, Fionn son of Cumhall
446	IV, 199	charm, Columba
466	IV, 227	salve, Mary
484	IV, 267-9	charm, Patrick
496	IV, 293	rune, Columba
498	IV, 297	rune, Columba
499	IV, 299	charm, Columba
506	IV, 313	charm, Brigit (to Patrick)
573	V, 291	augury, Mary
574.1	V, 291	augury, Brigit
575	V, 297	augury Mary made and Brigit used

Appendix 5.2

36 texts which use triads of saints/angels

(Names do not necessarily appear in the text in the order or spelling given here.)

17; I, 47	Mary, Brigit, Michael
23; I, 59	Mary, Brigit, Michael and Christ
33; I, 81	Mary, Brigit, Michael and her (Mary's) Son
62; I, 147	Mary, Michael, Jesus
78; I, 213-5	Mary, Patrick, Son
92; I, 255-7	Mary, Brigit, Michael (and Trinity)
93; I, 259	Brendan, Ternan, Michael
	Mary, Brigit, Columba
94; I, 261	Mary, Brigit, Patrick
96; I, 265	Mary, Brigit, Michael and Christ Jesus
99; I, 271	Mary, Brigit, Columba
101; I, 275	Mary, Brigit, Columba
102; I, 277	Brigit, Columba, Carmac
105; I, 283	Mary, Brigit, Jesus Christ
108; I, 293	Mary, Brigit, Michael
109; I, 295-9	Mary, Michael, Christ
110; I, 301	Mary, Brigit, Christ Jesus
120; I, 331	Peter, Paul, John the beloved
	Peter, Paul, John the Baptist
172; II, 111	Mary, Brigit, Michael (and Trinity)
204; II, 181	Mary, Brigit, Michael
250; III, 107	Apostles, martyrs, angels
	Mary, Brigit, Michael (and Trinity)
251; III, 109	Mary, Brigit, Michael (and Trinity, Three)
268; III, 175	Mary, Brigit, Michael
277.19; III, 205	Mary, Brigit, Michael
290; III, 243	Mary, Brigit, Michael
	bounty of sea, earth, heaven (and Trinity)
291; III, 245	Mary, Brigit, Michael
	John, Paul, Peter (and Trinity)
329; III, 335	Mary, Brigit, Jesus
	Mary, Brigit, Michael (and Trinity)
378; IV, 41	Mary, Brigit, Michael
	Cormac, Brendan, Maol Duinne
	Mary, Brigit, Michael
379; IV, 43-5	Odhran, Brigit, Mary
	Ciaran, Brianan, Diarmaid
	Fionn son of Cumhall, Cormac, Conn and of Cumhall [4 people]
	Colum Cille, Maol Ruibhe, Brigit ("milking Maid")
	Maol Odhrain, Maol Òighe, Maol Domhnaich
	king of the Fiann, King of the sun, King of the stars
	(and Trinity—King of kings, Jesus Christ, Spirit of healing)
380; IV, 47	Mary, Brigit, Columba
387; IV, 63-7	Mary, Brigit, Michael and God
397; IV, 87	Mary, Brigit, Columba
419; IV, 131	Mary, Brigit, Columba and Christ (and Trinity)
436; IV, 173-5	Peter, Paul, John (and Trinity)
469; IV, 237-9	Mary, Brigit, King and Christ (and Trinity twice)
	Mary, Brigit, Michael
478; IV, 253	Mary, Brigit, Michael
513; IV, 351	Mary, Brigit, Michael

Three texts with groupings of **four** saints/angels to echo Trinity members plus "Three"

340; III, 369	Mary, Brigit, Michael, Columba (twice) (God, J., Sp., Three; King, Chr., Son, Sp)
466; IV, 227-9	Mary, Brigit, Michael, Columba (King, Christ, Spirit, Three)
470; IV, 239	Mary, Brigit, Christ, Creator; (King, Christ, Holy Spirit, Three)

Appendix 5.3

30 texts which mention "pre-Christian" characters

3	I, 9	woman of Greece, Emir (Cùchulainn's wife), Darthula (Deirdre), Maebh (wife of Ailill -- Connacht), Binne-bheul, Muriel (angel??)
68	I, 161	Cairbre (AC's notes in Volume II, p. 242: "In Greek mythology, 'Cairbre' is the name of the hero who carried the souls of the men slain in battle to 'flathanas,' heaven.")
95	I, 263	Coivi (AC's notes in Vol. II, p.256 initially say "traditional archdruid of the Celts" then a correction below says: "Really, 'Coimhdhe,' God, the Lord." This is no doubt an addition by Ella Carmichael Watson, for it does not appear in the 1st edition Volume II, p. 249 entry for "Coibhi)
100	I, 273	Cairbre
107	I, 291	Muriel (saint or angel? Listed with Raphael, Ariel and Uriel)
114	I, 311	Muriel, Fite (probably St. Ita)
125	II, 9	Gillecaluim (probably a saint), Fionn
135	II, 29	[Brigit placed charm on...] Dornghil
180	II, 121	[nine wells of] Mac Lir (II, 324: "son of the sea"; the stories of "The Children of Lir" are mentioned.)
181	II, 123	[nine wells of] Mac Lir
186	II, 135	Muirel, Muirinn (angels??) [listed with Uriel and Michael]
191	II, 147	Caristine
252	III, 97	the Fiann
262	III, 153	Cuibh (same as "Coivi" from 95; I, 263??)
263	III, 157	[genealogy of Brigit...] Dugall the Brown, Aodh, Art, Conn, Criara, Cairbre, Cas, Cormac, Cartach, Conn (many of these figures are from the Fenian Cycle of Early Irish literature.)
278	III, 213	[Brigit placed grace upon...] Gile-Mhìn
280	III, 227	Fionn, son of Cumhall
282	III, 231	the Fiann
285	III, 237	king Cù Chullainn, king of the Fiann [No explicit Christian reference in the text? Reference to "king of the world" with no capitalization.]
372	IV, 29	the Fiann
373	IV, 33	Connan [with alternate version listing Patrick] (This could be a reference to Conon, a 3rd Century martyr.)
379	IV, 43-5	Diarmaid (Rather than the Fenian hero, Diarmaid Ua Duibhne, this may be a reference to the 6th High-king of Ireland, Diarmaid mac Cearrbheoil who assisted St. Ciaran in building Clonmacnoise.[1] Ciaran is also mentioned in this text.) Fionn son of Cumhall, Conn, Cumhall, Maol Òighe ("the tonsured of the Virgin"), Maol Domhnaich ("the tonsured of the Lord" name given to newborn baby boy at lay baptism. See notes for texts 50; I, 115 and 156; II, 74), king of the Fiann
400	IV, 93	Géige (shortened form of Géigean?? See 484; IV, 267 below), Morc (an enemy of the Tuath Dé Dannan in the Mythological Cycle.[2])
411	IV, 117	Fionn

[1] Dáithi Ó hÓgáin, *Myth, Legend and Romance: An Encyclopedia of the Irish Folk Tradition* (London: Ryan Publishing, 1990), pp. 158-61.

[2] Alwyn Rees and Brinley Rees, *Celtic Heritage: Ancient Tradition in Ireland and Wales* (1961; rpt. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1991) p. 32.

423	IV, 141-3	three sons of King Cluainnidh, Manann son of King Lear (See notes II, 324: "In Gaelic the Isle of Man is called... 'Mannan mac Lir,' 'Mannan,' son of 'Lear,' the sea.... Probably 'Lir,' 'Lear,' is the Lear of Shakespeare."), son of the King of Green Vesture, Fionn the Prince of the Fiann, Cumhall, Goll, Briain (II, 234: "angel, archangel ..."), Briais ("Gaelic words and expressions" in Volume VI, p. 19: "chief, noble, prince"), Alexander, seven hosts of the Fiann, son of the King of Greece, Fite
442	IV, 191	Fionn son of Cumhall
475	IV, 247	the "seven bitches (?) of the Fianna"
484	IV, 267	Géigean (II, 300-1: "term given to the man who presided over the death revels."), [Patrick placed charm on...] mother of the king of Ibhir
495	IV, 291	[nine wells of...] Mac an Lir, [nine wells of...] Mac an Luin
518	IV, 367	Osgar, Connlaoch and Fraoch

Appendix 5.4

155 texts which refer to the person of "Mary/Mother/Virgin"

(i.e. not including "Son of ...")

3	I, 7-11	118	I, 325-7	263	III, 157-9	532	V, 67-83
8	I, 27	122	II, 3	265	III, 169	573	V, 291
15	I, 43	123	II, 5	268	III, 175	575	V, 297
17	I, 47	126	II, 11	277.19	III, 205	579	V, 323-5
20	I, 53	129	II, 17	278	III, 213-5	586	V, 343-5
21	I, 55	133	II, 25	280	III, 227		
22	I, 57	134	II, 29-31	283	III, 235		
23	I, 59	137	II, 37	289	III, 241		
26	I, 67	140	II, 43	290	III, 243		
33	I, 81	142	II, 49-51	291	III, 245		
37	I, 89	143	II, 53	293	III, 251		
46	I, 107	144	II, 55	298	III, 265		
47	I, 109	149	II, 63	318	III, 313		
48	I, 111	150	II, 65	322	III, 321		
58	I, 139	151	II, 67	326	III, 327		
61	I, 145	152	II, 69	329	III, 335		
62	I, 147	158	II, 77	337	III, 355		
70	I, 175	160	II, 87-9	340	III, 361-5		
71	I, 177	161	II, 91	347	III, 383-5		
74	I, 187-9	162	II, 93	351	III, 395		
75	I, 193	165	II, 97	373	IV, 33		
76	I, 195-7	166	II, 99	378	IV, 41		
78	I, 213-5	170	II, 107	379	IV, 43-5		
79	I, 217-21	171	II, 109	380	IV, 47		
83	I, 233	172	II, 111	381	IV, 49		
85	I, 237	173	II, 113	387	IV, 63-7		
86	I, 239	178	II, 119	397	IV, 87		
87	I, 241	184	II, 129	419	IV, 131		
89	I, 247	186	II, 133-5	420	IV, 135		
90	I, 249	191	II, 145-51	425	IV, 147		
92	I, 255-7	192	II, 153	430	IV, 159-61		
93	I, 259	194	II, 159	431	IV, 165		
94	I, 261	195	II, 163-5	439	IV, 181-3		
95	I, 263	196	II, 167	440	IV, 185-7		
96	I, 265	197	II, 167	441	IV, 189		
99	I, 271	198	II, 169	443	IV, 193		
100	I, 273	201	II, 173-5	444	IV, 193		
101	I, 275	204	II, 181	457	IV, 206		
103	I, 279	211	II, 195-201	461	IV, 209-13		
104	I, 281	213	II, 209	466	IV, 227-9		
105	I, 283	246	III, 95-7	468	IV, 234-5		
107	I, 289-91	247	III, 99-101	469	IV, 237-9		
108	I, 293	250	III, 107	470	IV, 239		
109	I, 295-9	251	III, 109	474	IV, 245		
110	I, 301	253	III, 115	478	IV, 253		
112	I, 305	255	III, 119-25	491.7	IV, 283-4		
114	I, 311-3	256	III, 127-33	491.8	IV, 284-5		
115	I, 315	257	III, 135	509	IV, 323-7		
116	I, 317	258	III, 137	512	IV, 345-9		
117	I, 319-21	262	III, 153	513	IV, 351		

Appendix 5.5

Mary's Levels of Agency - 155 texts

(listed by "highest" or most independent level.)

Level 1 (reference) - 48 texts

20	I, 53	1	m
21	I, 55	1	m
22	I, 57	1	all
58	I, 139	1	all
79	I, 217-21	1	all
90	I, 249	1	all
122	II, 3	1	m
126	II, 11	1	all
129	II, 17	1	m
140	II, 43	1	m
143	II, 53	1	m
149	II, 63	1	all
151	II, 67	1	m
152	II, 69	1	all
158	II, 77	1	m
162	II, 93	1	m
170	II, 107	1	m
171	II, 109	1	m
178	II, 119	1	m
184	II, 129	1	m
192	II, 153	1	all
194	II, 159	1	all
195	II, 163-5	1	all
196	II, 167	1	all
197	II, 167	1	m
198	II, 169	1	m
201	II, 173-5	1	all
246	III, 95-7	1, 4	1b m mi; 4 c mi
257	III, 135	1	m
278	III, 213-5	1	all
293	III, 251	1	all
318	III, 313	1	m
337	III, 355	1	m
381	IV, 49	1	m
387	IV, 63-7	1	all
419	IV, 131	1	all
425	IV, 147	1	m
430	IV, 159-61	1	m
440	IV, 185-7	1	m
441	IV, 189	1	m
461	IV, 209-13	1	all
468	IV, 234-5	1	m
470	IV, 239	1	all
491.8	IV, 284	1	m
532	V, 67-83	1	all
573	V, 291	1	m
575	V, 297	1	all
579	V, 323-5	1	all

Level 2 (presence) - 11 texts

3	I, 7-11	2	1 oth; 2 all sts
8	I, 27	2	m
33	I, 81	2	all
61	I, 145	2	m
71	I, 177	1, 2, 5;	1 oth; 2 m 5 b
92	I, 255-7	2	all
123	II, 5	2	m
172	II, 111	2	all
213	II, 209	2?	m
373	IV, 33	2	all
457	IV, 206	2	all

Level 3 (intermediary) - 5 texts

48	I, 111	3 Lit	m
89	I, 247	3?	all
255	III, 119-25	3 Lit	m
256	III, 127-33	3	m
431	IV, 165	3	all

Level 4 (co-agent) - 70 texts

15	I, 43	4	all
23	I, 59	4	all
26	I, 67	3, 4	3 mi; 4 m mi
37	I, 89	4	all
46	I, 107	1, 4	1 mi, 4 a ap m
62	I, 147	1, 4	1 a, 4 m, mi
70	I, 175	1, 4	1b, 4m
74	I, 187-9	4	all
75	I, 193	4	all
76	I, 195-7	4	m
78	I, 213-5	4	all
83	I, 233	2, 4	2 b m; 4 all
85	I, 237	4, 3, 2;	2 all;3 a;4 m b
86	I, 239	2, 3, 4;	2 all; 3 a; 4 m
87	I, 241	4, 3	4 all; 3 a
93	I, 259	4	all
96	I, 265	4	all
99	I, 271	4	all
100	I, 273	4	all
101	I, 275	3? 4?	all
103	I, 279	4	all
104	I, 281	4	all
105	I, 283	4	all
107	I, 289-91	4	all
109	I, 295-9	4	all
110	I, 301	4	all
112	I, 305	1, 4	1 m c; 4 m
114	I, 311-3	4	all
115	I, 315	3 4	m

Appendix 5.5

Mary's Levels of Agency - 155 texts

(listed by "highest" or most independent level.)

Level 4 (co-agent) continued			
116	I, 317	4	m
117	I, 319-21	4	all
118	I, 325-7	1, 4	4 m b mi pa pe g jo; 1 oth
134	II, 29-31	4	all
142	II, 49-51	4	all
144	II, 55	4	all
150	II, 65	4	all
160	II, 87-9	4	all
161	II, 91	4	all
165	II, 97	4	m
166	II, 99	1, 4	1 c, 4 m
173	II, 113	4	all
191	II, 145-51	2, 4	2 c b, 4 m b
247	III, 99-101	4	all
250	III, 107	4	all
251	III, 109	4	all
258	III, 137	4	all
263	III, 157-9	1, 4	4 m b, 1 oth
268	III, 175	4	all
280	III, 227	1, 4	1 oth; 4 m
283	III, 235	4	m
289	III, 241	4	m
290	III, 243	4	all
291	III, 245	4	all
298	III, 265	4	all
322	III, 321	4	all
326	III, 327	4	all
329	III, 335	4	all
340	III, 361-5	4	all
347	III, 383-5	4	m
351	III, 395	4	all
379	IV, 43-5	4	all
420	IV, 135	4	m
443	IV, 193	4	m
444	IV, 193	4	m
466	IV, 227-9	4	all
469	IV, 237-9	4	all
474	IV, 245	4	all
491.7	IV, 283-4	4	m
509	IV, 323-7	4	all
512	IV, 345-9	4	all

Level 5 (quasi independent) - 21 texts

17	I, 47	5	all
47	I, 109	5, 1 L	5 m, 1 all
94	I, 261	5	all
95	I, 263	5	all
108	I, 293	5	all
133	II, 25	5	all
137	II, 37	5	m
186	II, 133-5	5?	all
204	II, 181	5	all
211	II, 195-201	5	m
253	III, 115	5	m
262	III, 153	5	all
265	III, 169	5	all
277.19	III, 205	5	all
378	IV, 41	5	all
380	IV, 47	5	all
397	IV, 87	1, 5	1 oth; 5 c m b
439	IV, 181-3	5	all
478	IV, 253	5	all
513	IV, 351	5	all
586	V, 343-5	5	m

Appendix 5.6

Agents and number of texts for each level of agency.

1) reference 2) presence 3) intermediary 4) co-agent 5) quasi independent

MARY

Level	Only agent	More than one agent	Total	% of Total
1)	26	22	48	31%
2)	4	7	11	7%
3)	3	2	5	3%
4)	11	59	70	45%
5)	4	17	21	14%
Totals	50	105	155	100%

BRIGIT

Level	Only agent	More than one agent	Total	% of Total
1)	9	18	27	29%
2)	0	5	5	5%
3)	0	1	1	1%
4)	1	41	42	45%
5)	1	18	19	20%
Totals	11	83	94	100%

MICHAEL

Level	Only agent	More than one agent	Total	% of Total
1)	0	4	4	7%
2)	0	7	7	11%
3)	8	1	9	15%
4)	1	28	29	47%
5)	2	10	12	20%
Totals	11	50	61	100%

COLUMBA

Level	Only agent	More than one agent	Total	% of Total
1)	9	13	22	39%
2)	0	1	1	2%
3)	0	1	1	2%
4)	2	21	23	41%
5)	2	7	9	16%
Totals	13	43	56	100%

"APOSTLE/S," "PETER," "PAUL," "JOHN," or "JAMES"

Level	Only agent	More than one agent	Total	% of Total
1)	N/A	N/A	17	38%
2)			4	9%
3)			1	2%
4)			22	49%
5)			1	2%
Total			45	100%

(37 with named apostle/s)

"ANGEL/S," "ARIEL," "GABRIEL," "URIEL," "MURIEL," or "RAPHAEL"

Level	Only agent	More than one agent	Total	% of Total
1)	N/A	N/A	8	20%
2)			3	7%
3)			6	15%
4)			17	47%
5)			7	17%
Total			41	100%

(14 with named angels)

Brigit's Levels of Agency - 94 texts (listed by "highest" level)

Level 1 (reference) - 27 texts

60	I, 143	1	b
68	I, 161	1, 2	1b, 2oth
70	I, 175	1, 4	1b, 4m
126	II, 11	1	all
128	II, 15	1	all
130	II, 19	1	b
136	II, 35	1	b
149	II, 63	1	all
152	II, 69	1	all
157	II, 77	1	b
179	II, 119	1	b
192	II, 153	1	all
194	II, 159	1	all
246	III, 95-7	1, 4	1b m; 4 c mi
278	III, 213-5	1	all
279	III, 217-25	1, 4	1b 4 mi
382	IV, 51-3	1	b
387	IV, 63-7	1	all
415	IV, 123-5	1	b
419	IV, 131	1	all
461	IV, 209-13	1	all
470	IV, 239	1	all
506	IV, 313	1	all
524	V, 33-5	1	b
532	V, 67-83	1	all
574.1	V, 291	1	b
575	V, 297	1	all

Level 2 (presence) - 5 texts

3	I, 7-11	2	1 oth; 2 all sts
33	I, 81	2	all
92	I, 255-7	2	all
172	II, 111	2	all
373	IV, 33	2	all

Level 3 (intermediary) - 1 text

89	I, 247	3?	all

Level 4 (co-agent) - 42 texts

23	I, 59	4	all
75	I, 193	4	all
83	I, 233	2 4	2bm 4all
85	I, 237	4, 3, 2	4 m b;2 all;3 a
87	I, 241	1, 4, 3	1 m; 4 all; 3 a
93	I, 259	4	all
96	I, 265	4	all
99	I, 271	4	all
100	I, 273	4	all
101	I, 275	3?, 4?	all
102	I, 277	4	all
103	I, 279	4	all
104	I, 281	4	all
105	I, 283	4	all
110	I, 301	4	all
114	I, 311-3	4	all
118	I, 325-7	1, 4	4 m b mi pa pe g jo; 1 oth
134	II, 29-31	4	all
142	II, 49-51	4	all
144	II, 55	4	all
150	II, 65	4	all
160	II, 87-9	4	all
161	II, 91	4	all
173	II, 113	4	all
191	II, 145-51	2, 4	2 c b, 4 m b
250	III, 107	4	all
251	III, 109	4	all
258	III, 137	4	all
263	III, 157-9	1, 4	4 m b, 1 oth
264	III, 161-3	4	b
268	III, 175	4	all
290	III, 243	4	all
291	III, 245	4	all
322	III, 321	4	all
326	III, 327	4	all
329	III, 335	4	all
340	III, 361-5	4	all
379	IV, 43-5	4	all
466	IV, 227-9	4	all
469	IV, 237-9	4	all
474	IV, 245	4	all
509	IV, 323-7	4	all

Level 5 (quasi independent) - 19

17	I, 47	5	all
71	I, 177	1, 2, 5	1 oth; 2 m; 5 b
94	I, 261	5	all
95	I, 263	5	all
108	I, 293	5	all
133	II, 25	5	all
186	II, 133-5	5?	all
204	II, 181	5	all
262	III, 153	5	all
265	III, 169	5	all
277.19	III, 205	5	all
324	III, 325	5	b
378	IV, 41	5	all
380	IV, 47	5	all
397	IV, 87	1, 5	1 oth; 5 c m b
423	IV, 141-3	5	all
439	IV, 181-3	5	all
478	IV, 253	5	all
513	IV, 351	5	all

Appendix 5.8

77 texts which mention BOTH Mary and Brigit

3	I, 7-11
17	I, 47
23	I, 59
33	I, 81
70	I, 175
71	I, 177
75	I, 193
83	I, 233
85	I, 237
87	I, 241
89	I, 247
92	I, 255-7
93	I, 259
94	I, 261
95	I, 263
96	I, 265
99	I, 271
100	I, 273
101	I, 275
103	I, 279
104	I, 281
105	I, 283
108	I, 293
110	I, 301
114	I, 311-3
118	I, 325-7
126	II, 11
133	II, 25
134	II, 29-31
142	II, 49-51
144	II, 55
149	II, 63
150	II, 65
152	II, 69
160	II, 87-9
161	II, 91
172	II, 111
173	II, 113
186	II, 133-5
191	II, 145-51
192	II, 153
194	II, 159
204	II, 181
246	III, 95-7
250	III, 107
251	III, 109
258	III, 137
262	III, 153
263	III, 157-9
265	III, 169
268	III, 175
277.19	III, 205
278	III, 213-5
290	III, 243
291	III, 245
322	III, 321
326	III, 327
329	III, 335
340	III, 361-5
373	IV, 33
378	IV, 41
379	IV, 43-5
380	IV, 47
387	IV, 63-7
397	IV, 87
419	IV, 131
439	IV, 181-3
461	IV, 209-13
466	IV, 227-9
469	IV, 237-9
470	IV, 239
474	IV, 245
478	IV, 253
509	IV, 323-7
513	IV, 351
532	V, 67-83
575	V, 297

Appendix 5.9

Michael's Levels of Agency

(Text is listed by "highest" or most independent level.)

Level 1 (reference) - 4 texts

46	I, 107	1, 4	1 mi; 4 a ap m
79	I, 217-21	1	all
88	I, 243-5	1	all
387	IV, 63-7	1	all

Level 2 (presence) - 7 texts

3	I, 7-11	2	1 oth; 2 all sts
33	I, 81	2	all
85	I, 237	4, 3, 2	4 m b;2 all; 3a
92	I, 255-7	2	all
172	II, 111	2	all
373	IV, 33	2	all
457	IV, 206	2	all

Level 3 (intermediary) - 9 texts

13	I, 37	3	mi
35	I, 85	3	mi
51	I, 117	3	mi
52	I, 119	3	mi
53	I, 121	3	mi
89	I, 247	3?	all
155	II, 75	3	mi
342	III, 369	3	mi
348	III, 387	3	mi

Level 4 (co-agent) - 29 texts

23	I, 59	4	all
26	I, 67	3, 4	3 mi; 4 m mi
37	I, 89	4	all
40	I, 95	4	all
49	I, 113	4	all
62	I, 147	1, 4	1 a, 4 m, mi
75	I, 193	4	all
77	I, 209-11	3, 4	mi
78	I, 213-5	4	all
93	I, 259	4	all
96	I, 265	4	all
109	I, 295-9	4	all
114	I, 311-3	4	all
118	I, 325-7	1, 4	4 m b mi pa pe g jo; 1 oth
134	II, 29-31	4	all
246	III, 95-7	1, 4	1b m mi;4 c mi
250	III, 107	4	all
251	III, 109	4	all
258	III, 137	4	all
268	III, 175	4	all
276	III, 197-9	4	all
279	III, 217-25	1, 4	1b; 4 mi
290	III, 243	4	all
291	III, 245	4	all
329	III, 335	4	all
340	III, 361-5	4	all
466	IV, 227-9	4	all
469	IV, 237-9	4	all
509	IV, 323-7	4	all

Level 5 (quasi independent) - 12 texts

17	I, 47	5	all
108	I, 293	5	all
186	II, 133-5	5?	all
204	II, 181	5	all
259	III, 145-7	5	mi
260	III, 149	5	mi
262	III, 153	5	all
265	III, 169	5	all
277.19	III, 205	5	all
378	IV, 41	5	all
478	IV, 253	5	all
513	IV, 351	5	all

Appendix 5.10

"Angel/s," "Ariel," "Gabriel," "Raphael," "Uriel," and/or "Muriel" Levels of Agency

Level 1 (reference) - 8 texts

1	I, 3	1	all
12	I, 35	1	all
47	I, 109	1, 5L	1 all, 5 m
58	I, 139	1	all
62	I, 147	1, 4	1 a; 4 m,mi
88	I, 243-5	1	all
149	II, 63	1	all
196	II, 167	1	all

Level 2 (presence) - 3 texts

3	I, 7-11	2, 1	1 oth; 2 all
68	I, 161	2, 1	1 b; 2 all oth
82	I, 231	2	all (Ariel, Uriel)

Level 3 (intermediary) - 6 texts

38	I, 91	3	a
39	I, 93	3	a
85	I, 237	2, 3, 4	3 a; 4 mb; 2 all
86	I, 239	2, 3, 4	3 a; 4 m; 2 all
345	III, 377	3	a
350	III, 393	3	a

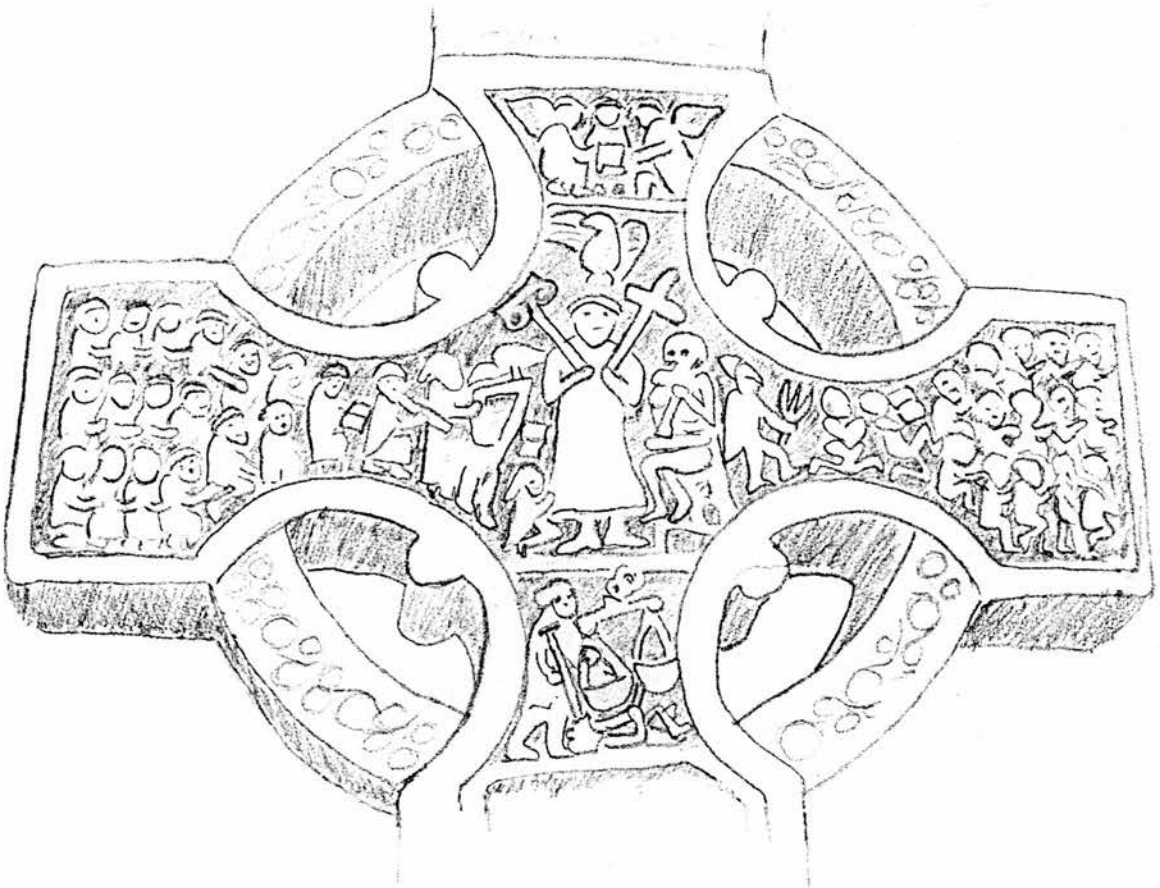
Level 4 (co-agent) - 17 texts

26	I, 67	4, 3	4 all; 3 mi
36	I, 87	4	a
37	I, 89	4	all
40	I, 95	4	all
46	I, 107	4, 1	4 a ap m; 1mi
87	I, 241	4, 3	4 all; 3 a
100	I, 273	4	all
107	I, 289-91	4	all
114	I, 311-3	4	all
118	I, 325-7	4	all
117	I, 319-21	4	all
142	II, 49-51	4	all
250	III, 107	4	all
295	III, 255	4	a
297	III, 263	4	a
509	IV, 323	4	all
512	IV, 345-9	4	a

Level 5 (quasi independent) - 7 texts

17	I, 47	5	all
186	II, 133-5	5?	all (Uriel, "Muirel")
261	III, 151	3, 5?	a
277.11	III, 203	5	all (a)
277.14	III, 205	5	all (a)
277.26	III, 207	5	all (a)
277.30	III, 209	5	all (a)

Appendix 5.11
Drawing of High Cross at Monasterboise
(by Laura S. Sugg)



Appendix 5.12

Texts which refer to archangels by name

Texts	Ariel (11)	Gabriel (7)	Uriel (5)	Muriel (4)	Raphael (4)
3; I, 7-11	X	X	X	X	X
40; I, 95	X	X	X [Uiriel]		X
47; I, 109	X				
82; I, 231	X		X		X
88; I, 243-5	X	X			
100; I, 273	X				
107; I, 289-91	X	X		X	X
114; I, 311-3	X	X	X	X	
117; I, 319-21	X	X			X
118; I, 325-7		X			
149; II, 63	X				
186; II, 133-5			X	X	
509; IV, 323-7	X				

Appendix 5.13
Columba's Levels of Agency

Level 1 (reference) - 22 texts

22	I, 57	1	all
69	I, 163	1	c
106	I, 285-7	1	c
112	I, 305	1, 4	1 m c; 4 m
118	I, 325-7	1, 4	4 m b mi pa pe g jo; 1 oth
128	II, 15	1	all
166	II, 99	1, 4	1 c, 4 m
167	II, 101	1	c
183	II, 127	1	all
188	II, 137	1	all
189	II, 139	1	c
199	II, 169	1	c
361	IV, 10	1	c
372	IV, 29-31	1	all
396	IV, 85	1	c
411	IV, 117	1	all
419	IV, 131	1	all
446	IV, 199	1	all
461	IV, 209-13	1	all
496	IV, 293	1	c
498	IV, 297	1	c
499	IV, 299	1	c

Level 2 (presence) - 1 text

191	II, 145-51	2, 4	2 c b; 4 b m

Level 3 (intermediary) - 1 text

89	I, 247	3	all

Level 4 (co-agent) - 23 texts

75	I, 193	4	all
93	I, 259	4	all
99	I, 271	4	all
100	I, 273	4	all
101	I, 275	3? 4?	all
102	I, 277	4	all
104	I, 281	4	all
114	I, 311-3	4	all
117	I, 319-21	4	all
142	II, 49-51	4	all
144	II, 55	4	all
150	II, 65	4	all
160	II, 87-9	4	all
246	III, 95-7	1, 4	1b m mi;4 c mi
258	III, 137	4	all
276	III, 197-9	4	all
298	III, 265	4	all
340	III, 361-5	4	all
379	IV, 43-5	4	all
395	IV, 79-81	4?	c
466	IV, 227-9	4	all
494	IV, 289-91	4	c
509	IV, 323-7	4	all

Level 5 (quasi independent) - 9 texts

95	I, 263	5	all
186	II, 133-5	5?	all
262	III, 153	5	all
380	IV, 47	5	all
385	IV, 55-61	5	c
397	IV, 87	1, 5	1 oth; 5 c m b
423	IV, 141-3	5	all
439	IV, 181-3	5	all
495	IV, 291	5?	c

Appendix 5.14

"Apostle/s," "Peter," "Paul," "John" Levels of Agency

Level 1 (reference) - 17 texts

47	I, 109	5, 1(lit)	5 m; 1 all
73	I, 183-5	1	p
88	I, 243-5	1	all
90	I, 249	1	all
106	I, 285-7	1	all
119	I, 329	1	all
146	II, 59	1	all
149	II, 63	1	all
168	II, 103	1	john
177	II, 117	1	ap
187	II, 137	1	all
188	II, 137	1	all
397	IV, 87	1, 5	1 oth; 5 c m b
436	IV, 173-5	1	all
446	IV, 199	1	all
461	IV, 209-13	1	all
481	IV, 259-61	1	oth

Level 2 (presence) - 4 texts

3	I, 7-11	2	1 oth; 2 all sts
85	I, 237	4, 3, 2;	2 all; 3 a; 4 m b
86	I, 239	2, 3, 4;	2 all; 3 a; 4 m
120	I, 331	2	all

Level 3 (intermediary) - 1 text

431	IV, 165	3	all

Level 4 (co-agent) - 22 texts

15	I, 43	4	all
37	I, 89	4	all
46	I, 107	1, 4	1 mi; 4 a ap m
49	I, 113	4	all
78	I, 213-5	4	all
83	I, 233	4	all
103	I, 279	4	all
107	I, 289-91	4	all
114	I, 311-3	4	all
117	I, 319-21	4	all
118	I, 325-7	1, 4	4 m b mi pa pe g jo; 1 oth
142	II, 49-51	4	all
144	II, 55	4	all
150	II, 65	4	all
160	II, 87-9	4	all
247	III, 99-101	4	all
250	III, 107	4	all
258	III, 137	4	all
291	III, 245	4	all
351	III, 395	4	all
509	IV, 323-7	4	all
511	IV, 341-3	4	all

Level 5 (quasi independent) - 1 text

439	IV, 181-3	5	all

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